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# Political Culture and Democracy: A Study of the Irish Case

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# **Political Culture and Democracy:**

## **A Study of the Irish Case**

**“Democracy is the worst form of government,  
except for all the others.”**

**Winston Churchill**

## **Resumo**

Partindo do caso irlandês, esta tese aspira a descrever a relação entre cultura política e desenvolvimento económico. Para esse propósito, foi levada a cabo uma análise do sistema democrático irlandês, dentro do contexto europeu.

No primeiro capítulo, o estudo começa com um resumo histórico do processo que levou à independência da Irlanda. Foram usadas, para tal, características do contexto político-cultural, explicadas através da relação da política com a economia. O segundo capítulo introduz algumas teorias sobre democracia e cultura política, para além de uma análise de relatórios de investigação em Estudos Irlandeses. A globalização foi integrada no contexto do processo democrático na Irlanda. No terceiro capítulo, explica-se brevemente o desenvolvimento da Irlanda a partir da sua independência, numa aplicação prática das teorias da democracia. O sucesso económico foi sublinhado, como prova do sucesso das políticas da Irlanda.

Tentou-se analisar o conceito-chave de cultura política, a partir do processo democrático moderno e da modernização da Irlanda. A sua independência, e o estado livre, foram resultado do nacionalismo, juntamente com um grau elevado de consciência da identidade étnica. A economia estagnou enquanto o sistema agrícola foi utilizado como alavanca do progresso pelas políticas económicas. A democracia irlandesa estabeleceu-se, por muito tempo, sobre uma economia baseada num sistema

agrícola débil, comparativamente a outros países capitalistas ocidentais.

Em face do fracasso económico que levou à estagnação, a política económica irlandesa alterou-se, do modelo autárquico para um modelo de abertura, e passou a centrar-se no sistema global de comércio. Guiada por um forte investimento externo, a economia irlandesa frutificou, quando as indústrias tecnológicas, apoiadas por recursos laborais e custos de produção estáveis, se desenvolveram. A implementação dessas políticas económicas levou a uma maior descentralização, e motivou maiores graus de interacção entre o governo, a sociedade civil e os cidadãos.

## **Abstract**

This paper, taking Ireland as a case-study, aspires to describe the relationship between political culture and economic development. The establishment of the Irish democratic system was examined for that purpose, within the European context.

The study starts, in the first chapter, with a historical review of the Irish independence process. Components of political cultural background were employed, which were explained within the relationship between politics and economics. The second chapter introduces a number of theories on democracy and political culture, plus a review of research reports on Irish studies. Globalization was described alongside the Irish democratic progress. In the third chapter, the development of Ireland since its independence was briefly explained, as a practical application of the democracy theory. The economic success in the nineties was highlighted, as it proved to be a successful deed of the Irish political policies.

The concept of political culture was interpreted, from the viewpoint of Irish modern democratic process and modernization. Irish Independence and the national state were achieved as a result of nationalism, along with some degree of awareness of the ethnic identity. The economy went into stagnation when the “agricultural system” was employed as the core of political economy. From an agriculture-based economy, Irish democracy twisted its way through low economic development rate and

stagnation, until its economic success in the nineties.

Facing the failure that lead to economic stagnation, Irish economic policies swiftly changed from autarky to economic openness. The economy then focused on the commerce system under globalization. Driven by direct foreign investment, Irish economy blossomed, when high-tech industries developed, backed by stable labour resources and costs. Its open economic policy implementation strengthened power decentralization and motivated interaction among government, different social association and citizens.

### **Key words**

Democracy, Nationalism, Political culture, Globalization

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## Content

Resumo.....	ii
Abstract.....	iv
Key words.....	v
Acknowledgements .....	vi
Content.....	vii
Introduction .....	I
Democracy in the European territory .....	3
Thesis Structure .....	4
Chapter I Irish Political Culture Background -- A Historical Perspective .....	7
1. British Domination on Ireland.....	7
2. O’Connell’s Catholic Emancipation.....	12
3. The Potato Famine.....	14
4. Irish Revival.....	23



5. Irish Independence.....	31
Chapter 2 Irish Political Culture in the context of Western Democracy and Globalization .....	37
1. Definition of Democracy.....	37
2. Models of Democracy.....	38
3. Power Sharing and Distribution.....	40
4. Democracy under Globalization.....	41
4.1. Definition of Globalization .....	41
4.2. From Globalization to Global Governance .....	44
4.3 From Government to Governance .....	46
5. Democratization Process in Ireland.....	48
Concept and Theory of Political Culture .....	50
Nationalism .....	53
Communal Political language.....	58
Economic Transition .....	61

Decentralization of Political Power.....	63
Relationship with Northern Ireland .....	65
Chapter 3 Ireland since 1922 .....	69
1. The Free State .....	71
2. Economic Protectionism (1933-1958).....	73
3. Transition and Restart (1959-1973).....	84
4. From Crisis to the Celtic Tiger (1973-2005) .....	90
Conclusion.....	99
Bibliography .....	105



## Introduction

The Ireland Island covers a land area of 84.421km and inhabits a population of 6.4 million, amongst that 4.6 million is in the Republic of Ireland, 1.8 million in Northern Ireland. The southern part is a small liberal representative republic with a limited population size. As a democratic example it offers many puzzles. It established a democratic government in 1922, earlier than some other European countries. Its economy suffered from stagnation for a long period in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, even while the island was far away from the destruction prompted by World War II. Even under guidance of a stable democratic regime, its economy did not show a rosy picture during the 1940s and 1950s. Only after the 1960s did its economy begin to vigor. After yet another 'dark age' in 1970s, the Irish economy achieved an economic miracle from 1995 to 2005. The magical construction of the Celtic Tiger seems to offer important insights on the relationship between the economy and democratic development.

The theories of Samuel P. Huntington, have highlighted the relationship between economic development and political infrastructure, or degree of democracy. He stated that economic development promotes the existence of democratic politics. In other words, most wealthy countries are democratic while most democratic countries are wealthy (Huntington, 1991). This paper, taking Irish as a case study, aims at searching for hints that will eventually demonstrate that democratic regimes are more prone to

promoting economic prosperity.

Thanks to the diversity of historical and cultural traditions, different forms of government were and have been adopted, even though a very similar model of democratic governing was applied in the majority of western countries. Bearing this in mind, historical study was employed in this paper, trying to check the democratic components from a historical and sociological perspective.

This paper firstly overviews the history of Ireland from the 18 century up to 1922, and the establishment of the Free State. Departing from a historical description, elements of political culture were interpreted simultaneously. After that, the question about whether political independence would positively influence economic prosperity arose. Guided by this question, economic performance and political policies from 1922 to 2005 were reviewed. Changes and the reconstruction of society and political party system were studied alongside the Irish industrialization process and its consequences.

Research on the Irish case has drawn attention of academic studies by scholars of sociology, political and international relation fields. As a small country, it showed a compelling degree of theory complexity as to religious conflicts, political governing, and economy. The much-debated unification and cross culture forum between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland attracted many scholars searching for a

solution on a regional conflict with complex regional and ethnical divisions. Intent on that ongoing discussion offered many insights and debates on the regional conflict aroused by the religious and ethnical divisions. The Good Friday Agreement showed hopes and determination to find a peaceful solution between the Northern Ireland government, the Republic of Ireland and the UK. It could offer some proposals on how to solve regional conflicts. Even today, some regions with ethnic and religious divisions suffer from the danger of conflicts or even war. Other relevant aspect for this dissertation is the fact that Ireland has been labeled as an immigration country. The connection between immigrants and their home country, together with its demographic changes and patterns, also aroused academic attention. The process of industrialization, on its turn, was full of twists and turns, and for some periods painfully slow. After 1995, the economic boom has gained Ireland the title of Celtic Tiger, which added a new point to attract the economist's attention, within the content of globalization. This paper aspires to examine Irish democracy in relation to political culture and economics, within modern globalization process.

### **Democracy in the European territory**

Originating in ancient Greece, democracy has been historically accepted by many countries as a workable form of government. Churchill once famously commented that "Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all the others." Europe had and has a solid and profound tradition experience of democratic governing. It has

been stated as one of European Union's external policy "to support democratization, free and fair election ... in partner countries" (EU, 2011, p. 5). Under these guidelines, I will try to discuss how democratic governments were formed and governed within the perspective of European politics. A practical and meaningful way of achieving this would be to select a country case-study. Ireland came into this paper as a clear example of the democratic wave that spanned after the WWI. Despite its inland conflicts, Ireland has enjoyed long years of stable republican democratic regime. This paper aims at a comprehensive study of the Irish case in a social and historical perspective, in order to examine political culture in Ireland and how Irish policies affected its economic development in modern society.

This paper employed social and historical perspectives in its review of the roots of political culture. Ireland case study was applied for empirical support by data and facts. Series of concept and theory was applied for such as democracy, political culture, cleavage.

## **Thesis Structure**

The first part of this paper focused on a review of Irish history from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to 1922. This part examined the economic and social structure of Ireland. The Great Famine, as a significant historical period, was described as it intensified the social and economic problems. Furthermore, political movements that emerged under

this background, such as Catholic Emancipation, created a new national self-concept. Political campaigns divided themselves between constitutional nationalism and violence nationalism. The political division, as we all knew, led to the separation between anti-treaty and pro-treaty movements during the interwar period. Through the introduction of these elements, chapter one focused on the examination of historical reasons that led to the split of Northern Ireland and the southern Republic of Ireland, and also the political cultural roots of the party system in Ireland. All these offered a comprehensive view of the Irish society before the Independence.

The second chapter focuses on theories and important concepts used to make the connection between the Irish case and democratization processes within the context of European politics. Nationalism, as a key element in political culture, was discussed in detail, as well as the nationalist ideology and its dual task in modern society. Upon these foundations, the political trend under the background of globalization and Europeanization was described. Changes in the Irish political parties were discussed within the context of western European Politics.

The third chapter mainly analyzes the Irish political policies and its economic performance in four periods, namely economic integration with the UK, economic protectionism, transition and development, crisis and boom. Reasons that led to economic stagnation and policies that brought positive influences to the economic development were also studied.



In terms of territory, my research mainly concentrated on the political and economic policies in the Republic of Ireland from the Free State of 1922 to the modern period. Due to the limits of paper size, the case of Northern Ireland was not explicitly studied in this paper, although it has been a very important composing part within the Irish study field.

## **Chapter I Irish Political Culture Background -- A Historical Perspective**

This chapter will look back at the history of Ireland from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to 1922, discussing the roots of its political culture, namely the religious division, social and economic structure, political movements and cultural nationalism.

Ireland has been inhabited for more than 7000 years, as the earliest settlers were said to be hunter-gatherers who landed on this island accidentally, based on modern archaeological discovery. With the arrival and settlement of 'foreign' peoples, Ireland has been formed upon a mixture of ancestries and traditions.

The 'island behind island', being isolated from Britain and the European continent, was unfortunately never in peace. Celts had set down a united linguistic and cultural system since their arrival in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC. Those Celtic ancestors merged continuously with incomers that followed, including Vikings, Norman and English, despite wars and conflicts that lasted for centuries. Thus, the majority of today's Irish people have been constituted by this multifarious ancestry.

### **I. British Domination on Ireland**

Historically, Irish ancestors had a relatively developed culture. Its language, one variation of Gaelic, was one of the earliest languages recorded in human history. In

religion, Catholicism was introduced in Ireland in the 5th century, traditionally credited to St. Patrick, and then extended its influence all over the island (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ireland, 2013). After that, several ethnic groups attacked and controlled the island, but England finally conquered Ireland, and managed to turn it gradually into a destination of plantations, the first one of Britain. Since the King of England (Henry II) declared himself Lord of Ireland in 1171, English immigrants started to settle down, firstly in the northern part, and further extending the movement into the southern part of the island.

Although rebellions against the British happened from time to time, Ireland was completely conquered in 1603. During the following decades, settlers from England and Scotland populated Ulster and other northern parts of Ireland, which had a lasting impact on the religious and political complexity of the province (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Ireland, 2013). Through several generations those settlers merged well to the local life and naturally regarded themselves as residents of the island. The peaceful adoption took place successfully until the Reformation in England.

Aside of his launching the English Reformation, Henry VIII was regarded as a 'great' king for having enhanced the power of the monarch, and especially for tightening England's control over Wales and Ireland. If the Irish local government power had been left in the hands of local aristocrats, Irish Catholics might not suffer so much discrimination, and eventually the religious conflicts that followed would not

be so fiery.

Catholicism had been fully integrated into the Irish life and culture, but came to be regarded as non-purified since the Reformation. The English, influenced by the religious reform promoted by Martin Luther, endeavoured a reform in the Church. King Henry VIII broke away from Roman Catholic Church and legalized the English Monarch as the Supreme Governor of the Church of England, having confiscated land and property of Catholic Church. Furthermore, he approved laws which expelled and even persecuted Catholic priests and believers. During the following two centuries, the conflict between those who wanted to restore Catholicism and those who were intent on affirming the authority of the Anglican Church was a central issue in England.

The authority of the Anglican Church was finally firmed through a series of fierce disputes that lasted for generations and were succeeded by “Glorious Revolution” in 1688. The English Reformation was a part of a widely spread wave of religion reform in Europe during the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

It doesn't seem possible to exclude Ireland from such context of religious struggles. The new incomers from Britain, believers in the Church of England (Protestants), were typically put in charge of Irish governmental affairs. They enjoyed advantages in politics, land-owning and social status in Ireland. They naturally wanted to maintain their privileges and therefore suppressed Catholics from public life. The

hostile tensions and violence between Catholics and Protestants continued for generations. Catholics were seen as non-conformists, so they suffered from political prejudice. In Ireland, they suffered from persecutions and were consistently excluded from political participation. The religious divisions intensified the complexity of Irish society. Based on a religious census held in 1834, an estimated 81% of the population was Catholic, 10.7% was Anglican, and 9% was Presbyterian. The northern part of the island was an exception. Anglicans had a strong presence in Dublin and its surroundings, and also in the northern parts of island, like the Ulster Province. Census indicated that 99% of the country's Presbyterians and 45% of its Anglicans lived in the Ulster (Paseta, 2003, p. 2). As a series of penal laws against Catholics took into action, the religious division devastated the relations between local Catholics and Protestants. This lasting division gradually laid the roots of the separation of the northern and the southern part of the island, which later formed the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland.

Since the Act of Union of 1800, a full parliamentary union was formed between Britain and Ireland. Ireland local authority was wholly ruled by the Westminster Parliament, but was allowed to have its local lord officers for local affairs. Ireland was given the right of self-government, which was greatly undermined because of the high degree of dependence on Great Britain. Under the Act, Ireland had no deciding power on its own legislature and officials (Paseta, 2003, p. 4). As a result, the Protestants,

constituting a populational minority, were paradoxically the privileged class and the political power group. As stated by Paseta (Paseta, 2003, p. 5), 5000 protestant families owned up to 95% of Irish agriculture land and political power (Protestant Ascendancy<sup>1</sup>). On the contrary, the Catholics were the majority of the population, but subordinated in economy and politics, because, to some extent, the Protestants perceived the Catholics as a threat to the Protestant constitution.

With the privilege of “colonists”, their language, English, came to be dominative. The implementation of the National Education System was introduced in Ireland in 1831, and legalized English as the teaching language. English gradually became the main communicative language in many parts of Ireland. Around the 1850s, Gaelic was used only in some mountain areas. This mono-linguistic policy contributed to the implicit suppression of Irish local culture, and a reconstruction was launched in the 1890s, supported by a recovery of Irish national identity awareness.

Parliamentary system was introduced into Ireland by the English government.

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<sup>1</sup> The **Protestant Ascendancy**, usually known simply as **the Ascendancy**, was the political, economic, and social domination of Ireland by a minority of great landowners, Protestant clergy, and members of the professions, all members of the Established Church (the Church of Ireland and Church of England) between the 17th century and the early 20th century.

Both the “local” Irish people, mostly Catholic, and the “new” immigrants from Britain, accepted the parliament tradition. Even when the Irish gained independence from Britain, the parliamentary system was inherited, and parliament democracy was fully applied.

## **2. O’Connell’s Catholic Emancipation**

Uprisings against the English rule were far before the persecution, while fierce conflicts appeared more often, such as Uprising in 1803 led by Robert Emmert. The real meaningful political movement brought Catholic politics possible in Ireland should be dated back to a pioneer figure O’Connell and his Catholic Emancipation movement.

Referring to the Irish political culture, O’Connell was a key political figure, who formed and reformed the Catholic Association and achieved the mass participation of Catholics. Through his Catholic Emancipation movement, Catholic politicians were able to access parliament. Different from the nationalists, who usually used armed force; O’Connell pursued non-violence and promoted two legislatures under the Crown. O’Connell’s measurements were simple and effective. He managed to reduce the Association membership charge to one penny a month, which was payable and affordable for nearly everyone (Paseta, 2003, pp. 24-25). Through this association reform, the Catholic Association raised financial support for the campaign.

Furthermore, the Association gained mass support and considerable publicity. After his reform, the Catholic Association became a disciplined political organization motivated by mass Catholics. His way rested on “backing constitutional politics with non-violence but an implied threat of violence.” (Paseta, 2003, pp. 24-25) His dual system under the same constitutional system became “the basic demand of the most important strand of Irish nationalism for the next 80 years” (Paseta, 2003, p. 25). Whether to stay within the Union or not, became the hot issue among nationalists. According to the account from Foster’s *Modern Ireland 1600-1972*, “constitutional way with an implied threat of violence” was utilized in later political movements, such as Parnell’s Land League. Active involvement of the Church, public and active participation of Catholics and firm organization were the features of Irish political groups to appear in the future. O’Connell’s nonviolent Emancipation also meant to the world that democratic and non-revolutionary political organization could achieve political victory. According to Paseta’s account,

Emancipation gave Catholics a sense that change was possible, mass association was a powerful weapon. Prejudice of the socially and politically privileged could be topped (Paseta, 2003, p. 26).

The Catholic Emancipation was a democratic movement initialled by O’Connell and actively participated by Catholics from every social and professional status. Through this movement, the Irish Catholics asked for political right of participating in



parliamentary life. Under the constitution, O' Connell applied nonviolence means for 'right'. His movement reflected the influence of British parliament. Mass association with united voice and action was one of the effective weapons for achieving success in Irish democratic movement. Emphasis on unity, solidarity and loyalty to Irish identity became characteristics of political community language.

### **3. The Potato Famine**

Great Potato Famine (1845-1849) was the heaviest catastrophe in Irish people's memory and a crucial moment for Ireland's society, once its effect reached deep into the social, political and economic life of the country. It was further marked into the psyche of its survivors. The famine not only worsened the life of already impoverished Irish people, but led to a great death toll, which surprised the whole Europe as well as other countries in the world. Furthermore the famine altered the demographic structure and trend in Ireland for nearly a century. The consistent failure of potato crops continued until 1848 and its impact lasted further.

Before the famine, Ireland was a feudal agricultural country. Industry developed in the northern part of Ireland, for instance in Ulster, with ship building and textile factories excelling. Irish rural society was made up of 'landlord and tenant' (Foster, 1989). Its social structure was composed of landlord and tenant farmers and cottiers renting the land for living. Ireland had little product exchange with other countries

except Britain. Economic connections between England and Ireland were close, due to their geographical proximity. In other sense, Ireland was an agriculture exporter extremely dependent on the British market. From Paseta's account of Irish history, we can see that Ireland landlords lacked capital and entrepreneur spirit; therefore they relied on getting rents but neglected investment, when compared with their British counterparts (Paseta, 2003, p. 60).

Before the famine, Irish population experienced a fast growing period: Population had grown from 5 million in 1800 to a peak of more than 8.2 million in 1841 (Paseta, 2003, p. 32). With the rapidly growing population, the pressure for land increased as well, so did the agrarian violence. Describing the economic and social structure before the famine, Foster made the following statement,

It was a complex, layered structure, embracing many levels of society, representing an agriculture that was responding fast but unevenly to altering market (Foster, 1989, p. 332).

Expansion of trade and industry in some regions facilitated the development of new social hierarchies. Growing numbers of middle class Catholics and Presbyterian merchants, professionals and entrepreneurs showed other sources for amassing wealth other than land, which also complicated the structure of feudal tenants and landlord society (Paseta, 2003, p. 11). Unlike what happened in Britain, industry and

trade in Ireland were comparatively weak and unevenly distributed (Paseta, 2003, p. 50). Areas outside many northeast cities and towns expanded slowly and became centers of administration, and education, rather than industry (Paseta, 2003, p. 50). Irish factories could not provide sufficient employment to flatten the tide of emigration, nor could they absorb the pool of surplus agricultural labor. Its economy, both in structure and in development, was “extraordinarily uneven” and deeply locked into the UK (Foster, 1989, p. 320). Its economy also declined sharply due to the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. While other cities failed to set up new factories for industry, the Ulster, Dublin, and Belfast managed to expand (Foster, 1989, p. 321). Potato was the dairy staple food for most people, especially for the poorest by the 1840s, around which Ireland had a population of roughly 8 million. Half of its people depended on potatoes for living, until the moment in which the production of potatoes heavily decreased due to a kind of potatoes virus-fungus. Although such kind of plant virus also appeared in other countries at that time, none of them faced so severed a famine like Ireland.

There were various reasons leading to the Great Famine and it was difficult to define which one was the most important. But factors like the heavy dependence on potato as main dairies, land pressure due to the increasing population, comparatively backward rural economy and traditional agricultural system, and limited government assistance can't be ignored. Although the local government and Britain authorities

implemented social assisting projects to overcome this hard period, its assistance was quite debatable. There were many reasons for this: the whole Europe was also in shortage of food; the inefficient bureaucratic system, and some structural difficulties also played a decisive role (Paseta, 2003, p. 35).

It was hard to believe that a kind of virus would cut down the eatable production in the whole country. Unfortunately, the decreased production of one agricultural plant, potato, led to food shortage and starvation. Diseases from the lack of food led to death, and other severe diseases spread. All these factors worsened the situation (Cousens, 1960, p. 305). According to statistics, Ireland's population decreased from 8.5 million in 1845 to around 6.5 million in 1851, due to the famine, which led to death and emigration. This meant that in 5 years population decreased by nearly 24 % of its original population in 1845.

The famine accelerated the emigration wave which had been formed since the religious persecution (Guinnane, 1994, pp. 119-134). In the 30 years before the famine, from 1815 to 1845, total emigration number to the US, England, Canada etc., was around 1.5 million. Since the famine started, 1 million Irish left the island in 5 years, i.e. from 1846 to 1851. From 1847 on at least 200,000 people emigrated annually, and in 1851 this number exceeded 250,000. The rate declined in the following years, but emigration continued. As a result, from Famine until the WWI, Ireland kept a long-term high percentage rate between population flow in and flow out. According to

official statistics, from 1850 to 1910 total emigration topped at 4.2 million, leading to average an annual population outflowing of above 70, 000.

The emigration wave reached the top high during the Famine, and the flow continued for about eighty years. This phenomenon exerted a great impact on Irish society as well as on its people. Beside its neighbour Britain, the new lands as Canada, America, Australia, and South America became homes for thousands of Irish expatriates. Amongst them, America was the most common destination for Irish people, even though most of the emigrants had to work as labourers and servants, as poor and unskilled new-comers.

The decades after the Famine came to see emigration as a usual aspect of life or as experience for adults, other than a means for pursuing new ways of living. Increasing proficiency and improved literacy rates ensured Irish people a better preparation for the new world: they seemed to be more physically and mentally prepared for new environments than many of their European neighbours across the whole 19<sup>th</sup> century (Paseta, 2003, p. 56). In America and Canada, the main destinations, Irish emigrants gradually formed influential political associations in local political systems. Through the endeavour of several generations, the Irish immigrants were more literate and more modernized and they easily took better jobs and purchased property, becoming successful entrepreneurs, and even getting into politics. They invested heavily in the Catholic Church and interacted and merged the main stream of

American culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Witnessing the success of the Catholic Emancipation, many Irish expatriates were prone at mobilizing very influential social groups in the emigration areas, especially in the US. There were many former American presidents with Irish ancestry like John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Ronald Wilson Reagan, George Bush and William Jefferson Clinton. As the emigrants' memory kept a degree of hostility towards the British governing and the backwardness of the domestic situation, they were more eager and passionate than their country fellows to support the political movement for national independence. Those passionate overseas groups provided large quantities of funds for the national movements at home. The Fenian Brotherhood, formed in USA in 1858, actively took part in the Irish domestic land league movements. Home rule movement in the 1880s received considerable financial support from those overseas pressure groups (Foster, 1989, p. 359). Parnell's land league also got a great deal of financial support from those Irish groups.

This links between Irish overseas emigrants and their 'out-coming' country proved fruitful in the modern era. In the 1960s when Ireland adopted free economy policies, foreign investment became the pump to revitalize its economy. At the same time, the national connection through emigrants also accelerated this process. On issues like the status of Northern Ireland, the signing of the Anglo and Irish Treaty in 1998 drew greatly the international attention, especially from the US.

The Irish emigrants abroad devoted themselves to the liberation movements in Ireland, thanks to their 'love for Ireland', or to their 'hatred of England' (McCaffrey, 1980). They provided some financial assistance, but the emigrant tradition, according to historians, had little impact on the Irish local economy. It was so at least before its independence.

Although emigration had clearly benefited large number of people, it was in itself no answer to persistent Irish poverty. It could be argued that large-scale emigration actually militated against the modernization of the rural economy. (Paseta, 2003, p. 57)

The Great Famine marked a driving force for Irish social structure change. Starvation and illness worsened the living situation of the tenants, who were forced to leave their country or to sell their small portions of land. If lucky, they could be employed in a factory as labourers. Portions of land were concentrated into larger ones by the landlords. "Holdings of very small farms declined drastically...farms from one to five acres to have declined by two-thirds: from 44.9 percent of Irish land in 1831 to 15.5 percent in 1851" (Foster, 1989, p. 335). "(At) the other extreme, holdings of above thirty acres register a sharp increase, from 17% to 26 percent" (Foster, 1989, p. 336). Land issue became more and more sensitive as landlords requested free currency of land, against the previous land ruling system. Agrarian violence was fierce during those periods of economic instability (Paseta, 2003, p. 59).

At that time the land issue was sensitive in many countries, and Ireland was no exception (Guinnane, 1994, p. 305). Comparing with its European counterparts at that time, Ireland had one unique characteristic, which was its high rate of population increase before the Famine. Based on the statistics from 1750 to 1845, the average population increasing rate in Ireland was 1.3%. In comparison, in France the rate was only 0.4%, in Switzerland 0.7%, and in Scotland 0.8%. Even in the rapidly industrializing England the rate was just 1.0%. In 1721, Irish population was 4,753,000. In 1821, this number reached 6,802,000, an increase of 43% in 100 years. In 1831, this number soared to 7,767,000, increasing another 14% in 10 years. By 1845, its population was up to 8,525,000, with an increase of 9.8% in comparison to 1831. This was a significant population peak in Irish history. Ireland witnessed an incredible population increase from the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century up to 1845, before the great famine. After the great famine Ireland suffered from a high death toll and long term emigration waves, as well as the low birth rate due to late marriage and celibacy. Its population gradually decreased within the following one hundred years, in opposition to its European counterparts (Guinnane, 1994, p. 305).

Its population experienced an abrupt drop due to the famine and continued to decline in every subsequent decade. This represented a unique demographic pattern in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, which, on the contrary, witnessed almost universal population growth (Guinnane, 1994, p. 305). The rising population was one of the most important



factors shaping social and economic conditions in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. While facing the increasing population pressure, the backwards traditional agriculture economy was not able to offer enough employments as well as the uneven developed industries.

The land issue was greatly intensified under the context of the Great Famine. Great Famine devastated the poorest in Ireland and did not influence those people owning of large lands: “The huge reduction in the number of the labouring and cottier class was one of the most important social and economic products of Great Famine.” (Paseta, 2003, p. 41); “The famine made the already disadvantaged the living condition of cottiers or labourers in the agrarian hierarchy even devastating.” (Paseta, 2003, p. 41) The huge reduction in the number of the labouring and cottier class was one of the most important social and economic products of the Great Famine. The decline of many traditional rural customs, the shrinking number of Irish languages speakers, and conversely, rising literacy rates all owed much to the experience of the Famine years (Paseta, 2003, p. 41). In addition, the international market demands for Irish goods such as meat, milk and butter, led to husbandry farm replacing planting farm for better economic return: “...livestock farming on medium-sized (by Irish standards) farms took over in many areas....” (Foster, 1989, p. 336)

To consolidate farms and put them out to grass seemed an obvious answer, as cattle and sheep held their value better than tillage products, now competing once more with European produce for the British market-a market that also

wanted more and more livestock products (Foster, 1989, p. 336).

Irish people thought the Government should provide more assistance against the Famine, while Britain seemed to believe that Irish relief on the Catholics caused the catastrophe. With a gathering dissatisfaction towards the British government, they pursued an absolute independence in the following decades. On the other side, the Famine evolved sympathy from many British people, which made them support Irish campaign on independence.

After the Famine, lands were accumulated into the hands of a few landlords, which offered the precondition of capitalist production. There were many tenants who could no longer rent a piece of land. They become free labourers, which were needed for industry.

The Famine forced about one fourth of the Irish to leave their country. The emigrant marked another characteristic of the Irish development.

#### **4. Irish Revival**

Calls for political autonomy started far before the Famine, but the request for improving the living condition provoked increasing political movements in the decades after the catastrophe. From the 1850s to the 1910s, political campaigns involved violence movements and non-violence pursuits. Some groups, such as the Tenant Leagues and the Fenians, were classified as “constitutional nationalism”, as they

preferred forceful activities. Fenians were regarded as a political organization pursuing renovation of the social and economic conditions in Ireland after the Famine. Some historians regarded the Fenians as a secret, revolutionary group with militant commitment to an Irish Republic (Paseta, 2003, p. 49). Another group, the IRB (Ireland Republic Brotherhood), formed by James Stephens in 1858, was a typical model of Fenianism. Compared with the Tenant Leagues, Fenians had more influence on common people and became strong allies of the Land League movement led by Parnell. Fenian members were allowed as individuals taking part in the parliament election. About Fenianism, William O'Brien gave a perfect assessment: "It was not the deeds of Fenianism which counted, but the spirit." (Paseta, 2003, p. 50)

Opposite to the Fenians, Young Irelanders and Home Rule League (1873-1882) tried to participate in constitutional power, as a means to fulfil their political aspirations. Young Irelanders pursued some form of political autonomy, promoting a sense of nationhood which appreciated cultural distinction throughout the island. Variations of Gaelic language were promoted for this purpose. Isaac Butt, who led Home Government Association, was undoubtedly the representative figure of "Constitutional nationalism" (Paseta, 2003, p. 52). He was a committed unionist but advocated union reform. Therefore he had a dual task: to convince Britain to reform the Union and to convince Ireland that the Union was both capable and worthy of forging vital alliances (Paseta, 2003, p. 53). According to him, it was too difficult for the

Union to balance the divisive powers due to its loose associations.

Unlike Sascac's hesitation as to the land issue, Michael Davitt's Land war campaign targeted excessive rents. His campaign was known as the "land war" and was formed in the west in 1879. Consequentially, he gained mass support and his main follower, another leader of the campaign, Charles Parnell, developed a bottom up political movement. This movement worried the Protestants unionists greatly.

Politically, Charles Stewart Parnell managed to strengthen the loose land league campaign into a tight and disciplined Irish party. Highly talented and noticeable as a young man with a background of farming, trading, journalism, and law, he became the centre of the party (Foster, 1989, p. 416).

They represented the interested who were simultaneously capturing the elective seats on boards of Poor law Guardians, and who would take over local government after 1898. Many Parnellite MPs were paid salaries from party funds; they took a pledge to vote together even before they stood for election (Foster, 1989, p. 416).

By this way he confirmed Irish Home Rule MPs in general elections, with absolute majority (Foster, 1989, p. 417). His advocating on land issue earned mass support from the public and financial support from IRB (Ireland Republic Brotherhood). He finally became the head of the Home Rule Party in the House of

Commons, and made a declaration in favour of self-government, by a vigorous agitation of the land questions. Parnell succeeded in balancing the relationship between Home Rule and separatism, and that between land agitation and nationalism (Foster, 1989, p. 402). "His party was disciplined and virile and contained brilliant men." (Macardle, 1951, p. 51) The success in parliament participation was contribution of both non- and violence movements. Parnell openly allowed his own parliamentary campaign to be reinforced by the existence of the league and of the Fenians' organization with their implied threat of resort to violence should constitutional efforts fail (Macardle, 1951, p. 51).

He allied the Irish party aimed at holding the balance of power between the Conservatives and the Liberals while each party realised that the price of the Irish vote was a pledge to introduce Home Rule (Macardle, 1951, pp. 50-51).

The common belief on compromise made the conservative and the liberals cooperate. The Irish party, through Parnell's leadership, became a distinctly tight political machine. But in 1889 Parnell was involved into a scandal.<sup>2</sup> He then faced a roar public doubt which led to his resignation in 1890. Loss of such a figure accelerated the split of political groups within the Home Rule movement.

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<sup>2</sup> William O'Shea, nominal Home Rule MP for Clare County, sued for divorce. Parnell was involved with his wife and was the father of her three children.

Both constitutional and violent political movements forced British authorities to take some measures. They had to ease the tension and solve the troubles in Ireland. As for the land issue, it was always a sensitive issue no matter in Britain or in Ireland. The Prime Minister of Britain and Ireland, Gladstone, promoted the land bill in 1870. But the Act of 1881 granted the tenants the right of free sale and introduced a complex mechanism for arbitrating disputed increases in rent (Foster, 1989, pp. 412-413). Gladstone's 1881 Land Act advocated the dual ownership and regulation of the rent by special tribunals which benefited the larger farmers (Paseta, 2003, p. 46). The agriculture market at that time was not promising: "Through the 1880s agricultural prices and profits continued to fall; rent similarly declined, or were simply not paid." Then the 3<sup>rd</sup> bill- Land Purchase Act in 1903 solved the free purchasing of land and made land purchase ultimately compulsory in the 1920s (Foster, 1989, p. 414). The Purchase Act of 1903 finally established land purchase as the final solution to the land question, reasserting the primacy of property rights by creating a new class of owners. By the eve of the first WWI, three-quarter of the tenants were in the process of buying out landlords (Paseta, 2003, p. 47). The free sale of land led labourers to freely move to the economic sector, more profitable and not bonded to the land. On the other hand, landlords and factory owners could take bigger stakes of land for husbandry farm and industry production through land sales.

Home Rule was full of twists and turns. This issue aroused intensified conflicts

and led to the formal split of the political power between Southern and Northern Ireland (Paseta, 2003, pp. 60-63). Gladstone proclaimed Home Rule Bills which were rejected by the Commons and Lord in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> votings. The rejection voices came from the Protestants within UK and in Ireland as well. Only in 1912 the third home rule bill was approved, and that led to an intensification of the political conflicts. The Unionists in Northern Ireland founded the Ulster Volunteer forceful in full disapproval of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Home rule bill. The unionists opposed Home rule definitely with economic and political reasons such as maintaining links with the Empire, loyalty to the Crown and Constitution. But the conviction hidden in all these reasons was that “Home Rule equalled Rome Rule”, and that Irish nationalists, inspirited by the Gaelic Revivalism in culture, seemed to engage in a Catholic Block which offered little to the Protestants (Paseta, 2003, pp. 68-70). In other words, Protestants in the Northern provinces were afraid of losing their edge in the economy and politics. If so, they would lose their priority in social statue. This consideration evolved their hesitation in joining in with the other 26 southern provinces of the island. The Unionists achieved that it was not possible for them to block Home Rule for the whole of Ireland. The best choice then would be the partition of some or all of the Ulster countries. Most nationalists misjudged the depth of the resistance of Ulster and failed to admit the force of the divisions in social political and cultural chasms between North and South (Paseta, 2003, p. 70).

After the death of Parnell in 1891, cultural nationalism was undergoing the vacuum of a political leader figure. This lasted until the Easter rising of 1916. W. B. Yeats commented this in his famous passage: “The modern literature of Ireland, and indeed all that stir of thought which prepared for the Anglo-Irish war, began when Parnell fell from power in 1891” (Foster, 1989, p. 431). The Gaelic League promoted Gaelic language as a form of patriotism, and spiritually Catholic; the English were regarded as Protestants and anti-national (Foster, 1989, pp. 452-460). Brian Jenkins and Spyros A. Sofos wrote the following in their *Nation & Identity in Contemporary Europe*:

Of course, the ideology of nationalism needs something on which to feed, some ‘raw material’ of collective identity. The potential ingredients of this are diverse- a common language, a shared history or culture, religious particularism, a sense of territorial, ethnic or ‘racial’ distinctiveness and/or assertion of opposition to other communities, or indeed the existence either in the past or in the present of some political identity- a state or subordinate administrative unit (Jenkins & Sofos, 1996, p. 11).

According to Jenkins and Sofos, the “raw material” of collective identity seems to be expressed through a shared native language, culture and religion and history, ethnic distinctiveness within the land boundaries which made one community different from other communities. Irish nationalists revitalized native language, culture and Catholic tradition; valued them as “ingredients” to strengthen their collective identity. To say



someone is national and native, it means to deny another person who has different regional and culture traits. Anglicans and Protestants, as different, non-communities, were excluded from the communities under such background. The Irish cultural revival confirmed Catholic supporters a socially congenial which led to an enthusiasm in political and intellectual potentials. The founding of Irish Literary Theatre was strongly influenced by the contemporary European developing wave of the discovery of Ireland's past and the Irish identity, and the revitalizing of the language and folk literature. The cultural nationalism aimed at a revival of Gaelic culture in language, music, lyric, poetry, dance and national theatre. It was initiated by intellectuals in order to satisfy their search for Irish identity as a means to fulfil national independence. A quite few of influential figures achieved worldwide reputation in literature, such as George Moore, W. B. Yeats, G. B. Shaw, Augusta Gregory, J.M. Synge etc.

The cultural revivalism in 1890s clearly influenced the Irish political system. For the half-century following the Independence, 50% of government ministers or senior civil servants were Gaelic Leaguers in their youth (Foster, 1989, p. 450). Political influences left aside, we may say that the cultural revivalism did feed the ideology of nationalism in Ireland. Furthermore, it prepared its people culturally and spiritually for the coming Easter Uprising and the Anglo-Irish war.

The awareness of identity, in the form of the revival of local language and culture, contributed to the Irish independence campaigns. On one hand, this sense of identity

resulted into a distancing from Britain after the Independence, which limited Irish development. On the other hand, the cultural revival assisted to establish a distinct Irish ideology.

## **5. Irish Independence**

The wars accelerated militarism and provided separatists to the Volunteer, the IRB, which saw it as an opportunity for Irish independence, under the slogan 'England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity' (Paseta, 2003, p. 96). The Easter Rebellion broke out in 1916, but failed. 15 heads were executed and 3500 people were put into prison. After the Easter Uprising, Britain took high pressure measures on Ireland like martial law, execution of the revolutionists, and exile of political dissidents, to cool down the passion of radical nationalists. All these measures made the Irish public develop a feeling of 'communal punishment' and brought uncertainty to social life. To a large extent the Easter Rebellion strengthened the hatred towards the British government and fired the national spirit among the public (Paseta, 2003, p. 96).

The Sinn Féin, which means 'ourselves' in Irish, emerged in 1905 by the influence of Arthur Griffith, who emphasized economic autarky and self-help (Paseta, 2003, p. 67). On his opinion, Ireland should take advantage of its national resources, tradition and its own people to seek self-respect and autonomy (Paseta, 2003, p. 67). All his viewpoints were actually influenced by the cultural revivalism and his economic

autarky ideology deeply influenced Ireland's economy from the 1920s to the 1950s. Anyway, all these features made Sinn Fein different from other parties and won them popularity among ordinary people as well as other party members seeing more advantageous positions in elections. Sinn Fein was successful by using constitutional power rather than violence to make itself the dominant party (winning 73 of 105 allocated seats), outnumbering the Irish Party in the General election of 1918. The Unionists got 26 seats. Sinn Fein Party leader then organized the Irish parliament (Dáil), and Eamon de Valera was elected president. The former leader of the Easter Uprising, who survived the hardships due to his American Citizenship, had a chance to declare the independence of Ireland. As for the Irish political future, de Valera once proclaimed his vision in a Sinn Fein meeting in 1917: a republic would be sought, but once secured, "the Irish people may by referendum freely choose their own form of government." (Foster, 1989) This was an attempt to reach a compromise and to collaborate with both the republican and the dual monarchy strands within the party.

Closely related to Sinn Fein, the radical volunteer IRA (Irish Republic Army) founded in 1919, set out a series of anti-Britain riots. Although riots were suppressed by the British authorities, British government was forced to pass the Government of Ireland Bill (1921) to split Ireland into two self-governing areas, north and south, both owning their respective parliaments. This bill received different reactions in Northern and Southern Ireland; Northern Ireland accepted the self-governing bill and elected its

own parliament members. But Southern Ireland refused it and searched for the full independence of the whole island. The nationalists, internally, also had different opinions of autonomy. Pro-treaty subscribers believed that Ireland could not sustain itself too long in the Anglo-Irish war, and therefore should seek a compromise. They dominated accepting the UK's proposal under some conditions to avoid more violence. The representative figures of pro-treaty thread Griffith and Collins argued that the treaty "gives us freedom, not the ultimate freedom that all nations desire and develop to, but the freedom to achieve it (Paseta, 2003, p. 83)." But the anti-treaty line refused all British involvement and believed in national independence as the final target. In January 1922 the Dáil Éireann got its final result of the ballot: 64 votes for, and 57 against the treaty. This showed the much intensified divisions at the parliament and also shaped the division characterizing Irish politics for decades to come (Paseta, 2003, p. 86). President de Valera and his followers left the Dáil after the Treaty's confirmation, which signified the split of Sinn Féin party. Ireland was in crisis again due to the conflict between pro-treaty and anti-treaty. The debate lasted for nearly a year. Finally Cumann na nGaedheal led the new government, and the Free State was established in 1922. The 26 counties in the southern part of the island got independence through Irish Anglo Agreement, while 6 counties, forming the Northern Ireland, were kept staying within the UK.

The compromise with the Britain gave the Irish, at least part of this island, a

chance of Independence. The partition left issues uncovered, which resulted into instability in the following decades in both parts of Ireland. The development of the Irish society was unavoidably linked with Britain.

From above mentioned history review of Ireland, we can see how Ireland transformed itself from a husbandry oriented agriculture country to an industry and trade expansion country. Traditionally, it was a landlord and tenant feudal society with agriculture as the economy pillar. The historical and geographical connections forged close relations with Britain. Its economy, as well as its parliament system, was highly dependent on Britain. As the first dominant nation of Britain, Ireland inherited the parliamentary and legal system from Britain, but its agrarian social structure also marked its political context with strong Catholic characters. Increasing population at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century intensified the existing land conflicts, while the Great Famine (1845 - 1849) devastated the lives of many Irish people and changed the existing social structure. Death and emigration waves enabled lands to be concentrated on large farms. The agricultural mode transformed to husbandry sector. Expansion of trade and industry facilitated the development of new social hierarchies. Growing numbers of middle class Catholics and Presbyterian merchant professionals asked for respective political rights, which made them become pioneers of political movements. The Great Famine accelerated the treasure and land concentration to a minority of powerful landlords, while tenants and cottiers became

free labourers searching jobs in the factories. All these constituted the original power of agitation force. The religion related social and economic division complicated the process as well as the leading reason made the separation of South and North Ireland today. O' Connell's Catholic Emancipation movements inspired the Irish political movement and layed the general method of Ireland political party as "nonviolence but with an implied threat of violence" (Paseta, 2003, pp. 24-25). Cultural nationalism paved the way for nationalists to sought national independence accompanied by the wave of national movements of European Continent in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century: national independence was by then finally put on the Irish political agenda. The WWI weakened the traditional powers like the UK, Germany, and France, but offered opportunities for national and ethnic independence of small nations. The political movement in Ireland gradually developed through the Emancipation of Catholic, the movements of Land League and the Home Rule, and the Independence in 1922. All these political movements accompanying social restructure paved the way for industrial transformation after the national independence. The 1922 Ireland independence was achieved through a non-violent political movement with armed struggles. The independence of 26 provinces of southern Ireland was not a perfect result for many nationalists, but was achieved as an acceptance of people's will. Democracies can be achieved through violent revolution as well as a more complex progress of revolution by peaceful means. As Tom Gavin's puts it:

Irish Democracy emerged as part of a general wave of European democratization in the second decade of the twentieth century; Irish political ideas are recognizably local versions of European and American political ideas; Irish constitutional traditions are heavily influenced not just by some British Isles parochialism but by American and continental European example as well (Garvin, 1996, p. 1).

## **Chapter 2 Irish Political Culture in the context of Western Democracy and Globalization**

### **1. Definition of Democracy**

Originated in ancient Greece, democracy has become a well-accepted form of government in the modern world. The word democracy originates from ancient Greek and translates roughly to “rule by the people” or government where the supreme power is vested in the people. There are various definitions about democracy. Huber writes that it is “a matter of power and power-sharing”. (Evelyn Huber, 1997) Greek scholar Pericles stated that, “our constitution is called a democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people” (Pericles, 2001). In 1943, political scientist Joseph Schumpeter stated that “the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people’s voice” (Schumpeter, 2000). More recently, in 2002, Freedom House provides another, yet similar, definition of democracy as “a political system in which the people choose their authoritative leaders freely from among competing groups and individuals who were not designated by the government” (Freedomhouse, 2002). It is difficult to give a universal accepted definition, but in modern societies, within democracy citizens take part in suffrage to vote groups or individuals to organize government. By this way, citizens process their right to participate national affairs.



## **2. Models of Democracy**

There are three basic variants of models of democracy, namely direct democracy (or participatory), liberal or representative democracy and a variant of democracy based on a one-party model. Direct or participatory democracy is a system in which citizens are directly involved in decision making about public affairs. Compared with direct democracy, liberal or representative democracy is a system of rule embracing elected officers who undertake to represent the interests of citizens within delimited territories while upholding the rule of law. Besides these two models, a variant of democracy is based on one party model, such as the former Soviet Union and many developing countries (Habermas, 1994). This model is not discussed in this study, as it is rare in the western politics at present.

Direct democracy was employed with limitation due to the size of the citizens. In ancient Greece and Rome direct democracy was able to apply for, as the citizens refer to free adult male accounting to a small percentage of whole population. In modern society, direct democracy is utilized under some special conditions, due to implementation in practice having relative high cost and complexity in geography. Within European context, this model was employed by some countries as direct voting or referendum within the whole governing territory, but only for some important decision making, such as issues on amending constitution, joining EU, adopting the super-national currency Euro etc.

The most favorable mode of democracy is liberal democracy, which has been applied in most western European countries. Political decisions under this form of government are made by the people's representatives rather than by the people themselves (Heywood, et al., 2002). Political parties work as mediators between different interest groups, citizens, and the government's political decision making.

Political parties work in two directions, namely up and down, which means that elected political party candidates are intent on representing the will and interests of their social groups, the people. Tocqueville emphasized the interaction between civil association and political association in the following terms: "Civil association, therefore, facilitate political associations, but on the other hand, political associations singularly strengthen and improve associations for civil purpose." (Tocqueville, 1990)

Interacting with citizens and interest organizations, political parties express citizens' political demand and organize support in relation to the social cleavages. Then, the winning parties, temporally the decision makers, have a profound impact upon society by means of the implementation, by bureaucracies and legislative acts of the government decisions and action. The political parties also work as educational tools to educate members as well as their own social groups. Political parties work as the media between citizens and government. This helps to ensure that the rule of decision making is understood and better perceived at the bottom. In managing democratic conflicts, western European societies have tended to engage in power

sharing through a variety of constitutional and electoral devices, which has encouraged multiple political parties and multiple paths to achieve policy influence.

### **3. Power Sharing and Distribution**

Democracy is typically characterised by power sharing and distribution. According to the theory of the separation of power, justice can be ensured through the separation of executive and legislative power (Gabriel & Russel, 2006). In modern democracies, there are two basic ways to separate power, namely geographic distribution and structural separation of powers among different branches. Geographic distribution means authority between the central government and lower government, such as states, provinces. Most European states, however, are more geographically centralized. Britain, France, Ireland are countries in which power is concentrated in the central government. Regional and local units only have those powers specifically delegated to them by the central government. Germany and the Switzerland, for instance, have been organized as federal governments.

It is difficult to define which kind of power separation is the best. Modern democracy offered various options for countries applying for the democratic regime with their own choices. Different historical, cultural, social factors lead to different forms of power distribution. Power centralization and decentralization are the essential issue in democratic government. Without supervision and distribution of

power, democracy will face the danger of authoritarianism. Too much decentralization may lead to low efficiency of governing and lack of a strong promotion of policy implementation.

#### **4. Democracy under Globalization**

In many modern societies, governments face more challenges under the background of globalization. In modern societies, governments address issues related to security, economy development, and environmental problem within the context of global view. Globalization strengthens the independence among countries in politics, economy and culture. All these problems are not limited to the boundaries of a single nation or state. For internal and domestic issues, national governments have the legislatures and executive limitation. It is necessary for national government to delegate part of their duties to individual and specialized institutions, associations, power-groups and international regulators.

##### **4.1. Definition of Globalization**

Globalization is not a new concept or phenomenon. Back in ancient times, the Silk Road was a strong evidence for the commercial interactions between the East and the West. In our time globalization is highlighted by the fast free flowing of technology, capital, transportation and people. The information technology such as tele-communication, the Internet and transportation mobility shortens the distance

between people and makes communication far easier. Geographic distance is not a big obstacle for economy development, with the fast development of aviation industry and the information technology. Comparing with larger countries, small countries are easier and faster to integrate into the globalization process. For example, Ireland adopted economic openness policies in the 1960s and has become an active player in the context of globalization.

It is not easy to give a universally accepted definition of this crucial concept. Many scholars have provided definitions from their points of view. Globalization is the process of international integration arising from the interchange of world views, products, ideas, and other aspects of culture (Al-Rodhan, 2006). Globalization refers to processes that promote world-wide exchanges of national and cultural resources. Progress in transportation and telecommunications infrastructure, including the rise of the Internet, are major factors in globalization, generating further interdependence of economic and cultural activities.

Globalization is typically dominated and initiated by the developed countries, driven by multinational enterprises. The essence of capitalism is the pursuit of the highest return in capital through the mobility of the market economy. Therefore globalization starts from foreign investment of multinational enterprises. They usually search for lower production costs and expand the sales of their products or services in the world. Many developing countries used such opportunity to develop an

export-oriented economy and boosted its domestic financial strength. Developed countries produce goods and services in industrialized factories, and sell them in a globalized market. The European integrated market provides a broader market and makes the labor and industry relocation easier.

The booming of Irish economy was a vivid case of economic globalization. Since the 1960s, Ireland has successfully motivated itself to become a foreign investment destination, through low taxes and a cheap qualified labor source, which made the country a favorable investment destination. Characteristics as an English-speaking country, a member of the united currency of the Euro, have made Ireland a good choice for foreign investment. For American investors, who required a board to enter the European market, Ireland was and is suitable, for the shared language, and the emigration connections between the two regions. According to a speech on the American Chamber of Commerce in Ireland, between 2000 and 2007 American direct investment into Ireland amounted to \$56.2 billion, which was 2.6 times of its investment – amounting \$22 billion -- in China, or 6.2 times of that (\$9 billion) into India, for the same period. Corporate America's investment position in Ireland in 2007 (\$87 billion) was more than double of America's total investment stakes in India and China combined. (Quinlan, 2008)

## **4.2. From Globalization to Global Governance**

The Democracy was promoted and deepened with the role of globalization. “Liberalism was strengthened by a third wave of democratization; more than 60 states adopted liberal democratic forms of government.” (Huntington, 1991) Through the efforts of these international institutions, democratization is in some respects strengthened. Under the background of globalization, managing the power and state interests under the new circumstance is becoming an important issue. Neoliberals and refined functionalists both proposed their theories on global governance in order to study and solve those international issues like economic development, anti-terrorism measures and climate changes. The complex interdependence among countries promoted a need for international institutions and social actors acting outside of the state limits.

At a general level, global governance offers a new theoretical lens through which to view international relations. This lens highlights the role of diverse social actors as well as states in securing patterns of rule at the transnational and global levels.

(Bevir & Hall, 2011, pp. 352-365)

The global governance offers a platform for states and international institutions, emphasizing the management of international issues through international institutions, as states worked together as diverse social actors. Neoliberalism commonly believes

that the free market is an alternative method of planning. Mark Bevir and Ian Hall defined the global governance as follows:

A decentralized price mechanism allowed for the inherently scattered and fragmented nature of knowledge. Each actor needs to know only his or her own preferences and to act on them. The market ensures coordination among these actions. The role of the state is not to intervene in the economy, but merely to uphold the rule of law and so enable the market to work properly. (Bevir & Hall, 2011, pp. 352-365)

Between the 1970s and the 1980s, theories of macroeconomic managing underwent a change from Keynesianism to Neoliberalism. Regardless of the differences between these two theories, the introduction of deregulatory, monetarist and privatization policies was commonly employed by governments of both right and left (Heywood, et al., 2002). The contemporary theory system, Neoliberalism, recommends self-market mechanisms and techniques as the principal means to regulate the efficiency of the public sector. These theories were primarily introduced to regulate the economy, but later they were applied to regulate the social relations. What governments should do is to establish healthy legal systems and market rules. Trade barriers should be removed. Market transparency should be strengthened. For a common market worldwide, local political policies were required to meet certain criterion. Those policies, as economic pre-requirements, were later broadly accepted



by the international institutions like the IMF and the World Bank. Thus, the approved loans usually combined with the requirement of structural reforms, if the target country did meet precondition of a worldwide mechanism. Measurements, such as cutting taxes, privatizing state-owned enterprises, reducing trade barriers, and liberalizing investment rules, could be required by the international organizations. For example, one condition for Mexico to join the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) was reducing a large percent of its tariff to maximal 20%. Aggressive privatization was also undertaken, decreasing states-owned enterprises from 1200 in 1982 to 500 in 1988. We can see that the globalization wave decentralized the authority and the territorial concept of states. Private sector and nongovernmental actors are working together with the states to manage some international issues and regional issues, arising from globalization.

#### **4.3 From Government to Governance**

After the Second World War, USA commodities and investment poured into the European countries with the revitalization of the Europe through the Marshall Plan. The reconstruction of after-war economy accompanied the deepening process of democratization. Thus the globalization accelerated the democratization processes in many political institutions and parties. Political parties need fulfill the credibility to the voters to ensure their survival within the election.

Economic performance influences the decision of the voters. According to scholar Lewis-Beck, the state of the economy motivates voters in many ways. When the government mishandles the economy, individuals respond with voting choices, and the ruling government may lose the vote. Within the European context, other factors influenced the voter's choice, such as regional and class cleavages. (Lewis-Beck, 2006, p. 66)

Since World War II, governments have an increased input in the public service and social welfare to achieve a better satisfaction of citizens. The policies took by the government may be criticized, as democracy does not necessarily guarantee good leadership or wise policies. (Heywood, et al., 2002, pp. 151-167).

As to macro-economic adjusting, governments took from Keynesianism to neoliberal economic policies. A free market was preferred, combining with monetary market. Market solutions to economic and political problems were appropriate in many cases, given the diversity of sectorial contexts and political systems within some regions. The trend from government to governance was obviously within the background of global governance. Debate, focusing on the limits of regulation and role of governance mechanism beyond the state, encouraged "a renaissance of concentration through social pacts" (Heywood, et al., 2002, pp. 151-167) in the 1990s.

Examples of governance appeared in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in some

European countries. In Ireland, Finland, Italy, the Netherlands and Denmark, relatively stable social pacts and agreements were concluded among the state, trade unions and employers' association. Social pacts in Ireland were initiated as early as in the 1950s, but they were commonly aimed at wage containment. The new social pacts in the 1990s had both a wider and a narrower scope. In the wider sense they sought a reform of welfare, labor relations and employment policies. In a narrower sense, it aimed at a strengthening of national competitiveness and the reform of public finance to reach the criteria of the Economic and Monetary Union. To reach this target, cooperation and understanding were necessary among governments, trade unions and employers' association. The traditional executive order was an obstacle to reach such target. Interaction of free expression of different parts and flexibility was necessary to reach the agreement. It became necessary for the government to delegate some duties to individual professional institutions and associations to achieve the agreement among social parts.

## **5. Democratization Process in Ireland**

The study of Irish experience in economic development could bring some insights referring to the influence generated by political culture. What are the political motives behind economic policies? The Irish economy development was very close to the process of the Irish economy's integration into global economy. During this process a multiparty system was formed, which promoted interactions between the

government, social associations and the citizens. Ireland showed similar trends from government to governance through decentralization the traditional executive power under the globalisation.

As an electoral democracy, Ireland brought many puzzles, for example a stable democratic regime in the context of comparative poverty and underdevelopment even until the 1950s. Facing all kind of economic and political challenges in 1930s, democratic governments tried different solutions. While Germany was trapped to Nazism, East and Central Europe countries were in the ruling of communism. Fortunately, Fascism and Communism never received popularity in Ireland. Michael Gallagher assumed that the main cause was a solid democracy, a constitution modelled on the British prototype (Michael Gallagher, 1985, pp. 1-9). I partly doubt it and agree with Tom Gavin 's argument:

The fact of the matter was that Irish people had had a century of experience not with democratic government but with democratic elections. They also had in front of their eyes the spectacle of a working democracy in the United State and a near-democracy in the United Kingdom (Garvin, 1996, p. 22).

The historical and geographical connection with Britain and the persisting immigration had deep roots on Ireland's democracy. In addition, based on Tom Gavin's argument, I would like to add that the combination of Catholicism and republican and

liberal thought made Fascist ideologies had no place in Ireland. As we have seen in the previous chapter, Ireland policy has its unique elements from its history, culture, religion and social structure. Irish Catholicism fostered a deep intellectual reservation but came down on the side of Irish electoral democracy, which was especially important to build an open, electoral democratic system in Ireland. In addition, the isolated geographic location and agrarian society did not foster a mature and independent working class until 1930s. This explained why the labour party in Ireland never became an influential party, which was the case in Britain. Irish Labour party usually played a role only as a coalition partner within the competition between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael. The following analysis will describe Ireland from the political culture point of view and its influence may be attached to the political system. How did the different levels of political culture interact with each other? How did political policies influence the economic performance, in a positive or negative way, under the back ground of globalization?

### **Concept and Theory of Political Culture**

“Political culture” was firstly proposed by Gabriel Almond in the 1950s and employed in the Civic Culture (Almond and Verba 1963). He tried to use this theory to address the ways by which people affect their political system and vice versa (Chilton, 1988, pp. 419-445). To simplify it, political culture is a theory to study “people’s shared framework of value, beliefs, and habits of behavior related to

government and politics”<sup>3</sup>. The political cultural frame, including ideas and patterns of behavior, develops over time and affects the political life of country. Political culture model can be employed to explain the persistence and stability of policies.

Based on Brian Girvin’s argument on political culture, Table I shows how the elements within political culture work and affect each other mutually in three levels. Macro level comprised elements that provide a long term “permanent” future of political and social frameworks. Societies functioned with higher order features inherited by generations. National identity and nationalism are regarded as the most powerful values within this category, replacing or subordinating other forms of identity such as class, religion and language as the primary source of meaning within political cultures. National identity and nationalism identified “collective meaning” to individuals and to the society in general (Girvin, 1997).

Table I Three levels of political culture

Level	Macro	Meso	Micro
Constitutive	Hegemonic	Institutional	Routine

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<sup>3</sup> Texas Politics, *Texas Political Culture*, [http://texaspolitics.laits.utexas.edu/10\\_1\\_1.html](http://texaspolitics.laits.utexas.edu/10_1_1.html), accessed

16.05.2014

Elements       In Each Level	Values	Consensual	Conflictual
	Norms	Evolutionary	Dynamic
	Stable	Strains	Unstable
	Organic	Longstanding  Constitution,	Immediate
	Permanent		Party political
	Rule of the game	Political system,	Political action
	Absolute  Presuppositions	Legislative	Individual  behavior

Source: Adapted from Tom Girvin 'Change and continuity in Liberal Democratic Political Culture', J.R.

Gibbins(ed.) Contemporary Political Culture, London, Sage. 1989, pp.34-36.

There are various definitions of what constitutes a nation, but generally a nation is believed as consisting of “a community of people composed of one or more nationalities with its own territory and government”. According to Henry E. Hale, people are driven by self-esteem to identify who they are, and where they come from (Hale, 2004). Referring to nationalism, Ernest Gellner argued that every nation should be ruled legitimately by members of that nation, thus denying the legitimacy of rule by non-nationals. It is a priority task for nationalism to achieve the national independence. Then it is possible for the members of the nation to manage and govern its nation out of the control of non-nationals. The WWI rebalanced the interests of old multiple nations, and saw the coming up of a number of small new nations within Europe. The

independence of the Irish Free State was part of this movement. Tom Gavin defined that “A Blend of Catholicism, democracy, nationalism and liberalism that characterises modern independent Ireland” (Garvin, 1996, p. 22). Its democratic movement was backed by a constitutional political movement with the active participation of Catholics.

## **Nationalism**

Nationalism faced development issue, a more complex task after the independence of the nation. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the main development task was to achieve the industrialism which was seen as the key to modernity. As for “industrialism”, John Breuilly (Breuilly, 1996, pp. 137-154) made a further explanation:

Industrialism, whether organized through the free market or centrally controlled, brings with it rapid and continuous change and a much higher level of social mobility than had existed in earlier societies. Industrialism involves a complex division of labour and this requires a rather different, specialized and universal educational system which provides people with the basic tools for employment such as a standard language and literacy.

From John Breuilly’s interpretation, we assume that industrialism happens in a free market or within a more centrally controlled market. A free market is not a precondition for industrialism. The example of USSR and Eastern European countries



that managed industrialization during communist period through the means of highly central controlled planning and government interference in market.

In Ireland, the party system evolved from a traditional dominated bipolar system to the current multi-party system that emerged since 1922. The two current dominating parties within the Republic of Ireland, namely Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, were originated from Sinn Fein, a radical nationalist party. The 1918 election meant that Sinn Fain remained a radical nationalist cleavage. From this point of view, mass party system was not witnessed in Irish political history (Coakley, 2002). Labour party played a role as coalition partner between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael. This is different from classical European party system with liberal party and conservative party. (In Southern Europe was anticlericalism and Catholic or Democratic Christian Party.) (Coakley, 2002) Due to origination from the same nationalist party, it was not easy to define big differences between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael. This also reflected similar stand towards issue of Northern Ireland according to the account of Henry Patterson (Patterson, 2006).

Based on the ideology of nationalism, it was easily to understand a series policies adopted by de Valera government. In the territory, the Fianna Fáil, under de Varera, enhanced Ireland's self-determination and freedom of action, by introducing the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act and the Aliens Act and signed agreements with Britain to take back Irish ports.

The constitution of 1937 was the expression of nationalism in Ireland, and it led to deep changes in the social structure. A few clauses from the constitution are listed as following:

1. New name for the Eire namely Ireland Republic officially broke out with the Commonwealth nations
2. Claim national territory was the entire Ireland
3. Reorganization of “Special position” of Roman Catholicism
4. Define the moral value of marriage and excluded civil divorce. Women should stay at home to exercise their traditional role at home
5. Declare Irish language Gaelic “national language”<sup>4</sup>

With the removal of the Oath of Allegiance, a republic was seen as a form of self-definition. The restoration of the Irish language was devised to recuperate and restore the Irish identity. As Foster claimed,

For twenty-six-county purposes, the constitution gratified the aspiration towards a united, republican Ireland, placing a high priority on the restoration of Irish

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/1937/en/act/pub/0040/index.html>

language and culture, and emphasizing that the Commonwealth had no moral claims on Ireland's membership. (Foster, 1989, p. 545)

Emphasizing Gaelic as a compulsory course, in some extent, did not arouse the interest or restive, especially for children whose home language was English (Foster, 1989, p. 546). Gaelic was learnt and practiced at school but it hardly went into normal life, as English was dominant in business and daily conversation. Therefore its effects were not so impressing.

The recognition of the special position of Roman Catholicism, definitely strengthened the moral rule in Irish society, but limited the women's role and development in modern society. Catholic Church occupied a place of authority to guide and govern the moral values of Irish people, as well as controlling the educational and social welfare institutions like hospitals, schools and social services. From this perspective, the nationalist government failed to establish a universal educational system, which, to a large extent, constrained the pace of industrialization in Republic of Ireland. The Catholic educational system emphasized moral teaching but not encouraged innovation and experiment.

The economic self-sufficiency was also the expression of the ideology of Irish nationalism. The Fianna Fail Government introduced a comprehensive policy of central controlled policies, like industrial protection, direct intervention on agricultural

production and protective tariff towards imports and exports. If we are to describe their policy as oriented to the agriculture-based economy, then we may say that such a policy failed to adjust the economy to a globalized order in a modern society. The economic wars between England and the Republic of Ireland reflected the ideology of “de-anglicising”. Having cut the trade connections with the UK closed a broader economic connection through the UK to the rest of the World. The protection policies did not develop an innovative spirit.

The pursued protection policy by the Irish government was similar to many nationalist governments after the WWI, but such policies were gradually abandoned by most post-war governments. But why did Ireland stuck to this autarky policy for so long, virtually without changes, until 1959? I would say the authoritarianism was the main reason. As the leader of Fianna Fail, de Valera held the post as head of government from 1932 to 1948, from 1951 to 1954, and from 1957 to 1959, when he resigned after being elected President of Ireland. His political creed evolved from militant republicanism to social and cultural conservatism (Ferriter, 2007). Compared with Ireland, Denmark’s transformation was painful, but the expansion of industry in line of agricultural decline was achieved through the crucial role of the social Democratic Party. In Netherlands labour party and the Catholic party agreed on cooperation to achieve industrialization in 1950s. While the government of the Republic of Ireland failed to integrate Irish economy into the international economy

due to political inertia (Girvin, 1997).

Oliver H. Woshinsky stated that “Nations generally remain true to their historical traditions. Once set in place, the cultural norms of a given society take hold and exert enormous impact on thought and behaviour.” (Woshinsky, 1995, p. 93) The policy is rooted thoroughly in the environment that affects.

### **Communal Political language**

As a traditional agricultural country, local communities played an essential role in Irish politics. Communal culture was explored into four key aspects of the community, namely the image of place, the role of talk itself, the idea of unity and the conceptualisation of time (O'Carroll, 1987). People refer the name of their community place as a sharing of its identity, and by this way form a kind of unification. Through the community, residents formed its sense of belonging. At the same time, the elite of local communities kept their authorities through possessions and influence within communities in time honoured. The community is closely related to the notion of possession and with property, both collective and individual (O'Carroll, 1987). “Where do you come from” is a frequent question to start a conversation for people who do not know each other. This question can be understood as an indication of identity. No matter insider or outsider, reaching a kind of loyalty and acceptance of the community is necessary. Such kind of cultural traits were obviously present in Irish politics as a

result of the historical interaction of places and identity. O'Carroll explained such kind of interaction at all levels of Irish political life.

These cultural traits have ensured that, historically and currently, Irish politics at all levels is heavily influenced by interaction of place and identity. Electoral boundaries, bailiwicks, vote transfers, nomination of candidates as well as the appointment of ministers are still rigidly determined by social-geographical factors. Paradoxically, public administration reflects social structures such as parish, county and region much less than it does in other European countries (O'Carroll, 1987).

The Irish political culture was rooted in its agricultural economy, and a community political culture was formed and developed from its social structure. Its political culture contributed on forming Irish unity and identity, but had a certain conservative influence:

Its power lied in its contribution to identity, solidarity and to partisanship. At a deeper level it conveys images unity and wholeness which help to shape our view of the world. However, though it's an important resource, overuse can lead to a narrowing of the limits of political culture (O'Carroll, 1987).

The Irish loyalty to their identity and unity explained why the dominating parties were able to keep influence in elections. But the politics based on Irish community

was unable to handle the problem of a modern society. An industrial society required wide acceptance of forms of organisation transcending the community (O'Carroll, 1987). Together with this unity, a communal feeling promoted the loyalty of local elite and emphasized the authority of the elite politician, but the mass recognition of the authority discouraged majority participation from the citizens. To some extents, the Irish politics could be interpreted as an exercise in expressiveness, rather than as an exercise of individual choice. Political leaders were possible to utilize their influence out of the mass willingness. Different ideas and opinions were not able to hear. Lack of supervision on the ruling leaders and party leaders might lead to dictation. The Fianna Fail's single party government actually was the voice of de Valera, who in great extent enlarged the loyalty and solidarity within the party.

It is a largely accepted fact that self-determination and desire for economic development are regarded as two central tasks of nations in modern societies. It seems to us that a real meaningful independence required political recognition from the international community as well as economic independence. Ireland achieved its political independence, as the USA welcomed Irish independence and the UK parliament passed the Act for accepting the Free State. But its political independence, its nationalist processed an economic nationalism, which did not promote its economic development under globalization. There are many factors to achieve an economic prosperity. Only a political independence does not guarantee a prosperous

economy. Irish Free State and later the Republic employed a nationalism policy on economy, and this protective economic policy from 1933 to 1958 failed to integrate Irish economy into international economy.

Within the perspective of Western democracies, a political party survive when it can deliver its credibility. If the political party fails to achieve it, it will face a credibility crisis. This was true in Ireland. The economic stagnation in the 1950s, the ongoing immigration wave as well as the enlarging gap in relation to other European countries after WWII made the Irish parties accept the fact that a change must be made. Based on the account of Foster's account, such change was a gradual process but a consciousness was able to make among the coalition government in 1959 and a kind of discussion and interaction were generated which made difference from the previous DeValera government (Foster, 1989, p. 578).

### **Economic Transition**

The central aim of the transition was to foster economic openness and to advocate free trade, foreign investment, and input in public services (Dorgan, 2006). Lemass, who was elected as Prime Minister in the 1959 coalition government, was a pioneer of the new economic reforms. The transition started by the government, with completely different policies from previous economic protectionism. A series of organizations were set up. They worked with government to revitalize the economy.



All these policies originated from the effort of completing the industrialization process in Ireland.

Access to the EEC was seen as an alternative to revitalize its economy. But the economic dependence on Britain made it hard to achieve. Lemass had explained to British officials in 1960, he “did not believe that small countries could stand alone and the Republic had no alternative but to link her economy with that of the United Kingdom.” As Patterson argues,

The fact was “(with) 90 percent of its agricultural exports and 70 percent of its exports of manufactured goods going to UK, it would have been impossible for the Republic to consider joining the EEC if Britain had maintained its original skeptical position.” In July 1961 Lemass announced that if Britain applied to join, Ireland would apply too. It was being made clear to Irish industry that the days of a protected home market were numbered (Patterson, 2006, p. 147).

Irish economy has been gradually integrated into the international economy since the 1960s. On one hand, it benefited from the economic globalization. On the other hand, it suffered from the crisis of the oil prices in the 1970s and the impact of American bad debt in 2010. In modern days, it was more difficult for the government to prevent firms fleeing the country due to the opening of new markets and the increasing capital mobility (Keating, 2011). Keating argued that centralized regional

policies increasingly came into question after the oil crisis of the 1970s. And he supposed that regional policy was sustained only for social and political reasons lacking of economic rationales (Heywood, et al., 2002).

### **Decentralization of Political Power**

In modern societies, it is necessary to delegate parts of the role that traditional governments covered. This kind of trend was apparent in some European countries. As for the changes within the Western European policies over the recent decades, Paul Heywood declared, there was a widely accepted view that capacity of parliaments to influence policy process and act as checks on executives has been in declining in recent times (Heywood, et al., 2002).

Referring to the economic policies, an executive responsibility was claimed either through increasingly centralized control over public expenditure and financial management or delegation in part to non-party political mechanisms in such as central banks, treasury department, and budget bureaus (Heywood, et al., 2002). Since the growing economy was getting more, the growing role of specialized organization such as International Monetary Fund, World Bank and the World Trade Organization prompted to a greater control over macroeconomic policy (Heywood, et al., 2002). The Single European Act of 1987 and the of EU treaty of 1993 were other examples of multi-national cooperation organizations.

Since Ireland adopted an open market policy in the 1960s, a series of specialized organizations have worked closely with governments, business representatives and other interests. The later settled the National Industrial and Economic Council and Social Council (NESC), aimed at balancing the interests of different parties to offer a more transparent platform for discussion and consultation. These organizations specialized on aspects of economic policy, and worked efficiently and coherently on agreements between government and the public. This power decentralization provided sustain beyond the uncertainty of coalition government. Decentralization of power was a precondition of an EEC membership. The Access to the EEC (later EU) was of vital importance for Ireland in all respects, as the regional organization of EU offered a broad platform to play its role and had its voice heard within the multilateralism. The structural funding from EU influenced the regional mobilization greatly and brought discussion of Europe to the center debate within regions. They had forced governments in states without a regional tier to establish some forms of regional administration and planning. EU initiatives had been important in stimulating cross-border cooperation and the emergence of regions covering more than one state, although so far such regions have not taken on a political life of their own (Heywood, et al., 2002). Ireland has benefited from such kind of structural funding as well as cross-border cooperation. The cross-border cooperation and discussion is very active between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. People around the borders also benefited from such kind of interaction in culture, traveling, as well as

economy, even as the economic result has not been so obvious.

### **Relationship with Northern Ireland**

Referring to the issue of Northern Ireland, things were more complex. Since the founding of the Free State, conflict brought by religious division was not a top issue in the Republic of Ireland. The religious division in Northern Ireland led to a larger degree of fragmentation. Based on the concept of cleavages, society can be dealt by three levels of cleavages: society, party system and government.

A cleavage is considered to be a division of individuals groups or organizations among whom conflict may arise. The conflict of cleavages is thus not identical with concept of conflict. Cleavages may lead to conflicts but a cleavage need not always to be attended by conflict. (Lane & Ersson, 1999)

Before 1922, the national independence spirit could be interpreted as the domination of national independence feeling, based upon the land issue, resources relocation and conflicts related to religious division. The relation between Catholic and Protestant has been improved since the establishment of the Free State in 1922. Although at the initial period, quite a lot of Protestants, in fear of persecution, went to Northern Ireland and its population percentage in Irish Free State decreased from 10%

to 3%.<sup>5</sup> The rest of Protestants staying in the Republic of Ireland came to accept the Irish citizen nationality but the citizen of the UK. The Catholics did not worry about further revenge of Protestants, seeing the authority restoration of the Catholic Church. A religious division existed but not a priority problem in the Republic of Ireland. A peaceful environment is beneficial to all citizens of either Catholics or Protestants, which was noticed by the government in the Republic. Furthermore, with gathering respect of the others' religion, the unavoidable contact and interaction between Catholics and Protestants eased religious tension, although it had taken a long process. The political uncertainty and social violence in Northern Ireland can be understood as fragment of religious cleavage brought to conflict. The Good Friday agreement in 1998 was a significant event that seeing the end of the IRA violence in Northern Ireland based on the continuous contacts between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland since 1960s as well as the pragmatic vision between Britain and the Republic of Ireland.

This Chapter reviewed the theories and concepts of democracy and globalization and discussed the relation between power sharing and distribution within electoral democracies within context of Western Europe. Globalization promoted global governance, as its influence on nations evolved in economic, political and social life.

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<sup>5</sup> [http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/past/protestants\\_1861\\_1991.html](http://www.wesleyjohnston.com/users/ireland/past/protestants_1861_1991.html) (10.06.2014)

Modern state under globalization tended to transit from government to governance.

The power decentralization was obviously within national government and promoted the interaction among government, civil associations and citizens. Ireland was taken as case study to examine the political culture influences in policies. How government integrate the economy into international economy? What is the changes in political policies to face the influence of globalization? Irish political culture was part of the policy making environment, and influenced on how nationalism and national identity was expressed within parliament government. National independence and industrialism were the central tasks of the nationalism, while the process to industrialization was more challenging and complex. From the Irish study, we suppose that the political independence played a neutral impact on economy development. A specific political culture may adapt its traditions to facilitate economic development or obstruct such a result. Relationship between choice and political culture is central important to the political process and to the methods by which policy is formulated and executed (Girvin, 1997). Political independence is not the precondition to economy prosperity. But political independence offered the nationalist government chances to take different policies to promote its economy.

Conservative communal culture preferred forming a national loyalty and unity but failed to generate an expression of individuals and an innovative spirit. Its party system evolved to a multi-party system, and was executed mostly by the coalition

government. Different parties within coalition government made compromise to fulfil their credibility.

Irish economic policies lacked of innovation, as the government concentrated on limited local economy and market. This was one of the main reasons leading to the stagnation of Irish economy in 1950s. The transition to economic open policies led to huge changes in different layers of Irish society.

With the high integration into the globalization, many challenging issues out of the border category required the coordination among countries. The government should delegate some of its traditional role to non-political government organizations for its high efficiency and specific technique requirement. Ireland's modernization process showed such a trend that the political culture changed from direction of top down to a more interactions among government, business and other interest groups. By this way a more free expression of individuals and innovation spirit were seen in today's Irish society.

### **Chapter 3 Ireland since 1922**

In this chapter Irish political policy after its independence will be described alongside its economic performance. Development expressed itself within an international background, as globalization had drawn this country into a global market. Ireland should adapt itself to suit the global labour division, which was the conclusion of its development history. How to achieve this goal would be the main task of contemporary Irish politicians. At the same time, whether Ireland could avoid the negative impact from the new challenge and the crisis of the external environment would be an important question to ask in its bid for a lasting development.

The Irish independence was legalized by the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921. The Partition made Ireland unstable in the following half-century. Six counties in the northern part of the island, namely Northern Ireland, remained in the United Kingdom. Other twenty-six counties obtained a status of dominance of the Empire, and later a Commonwealth membership. From then on, the local government, i.e. its parliament, head of state, and other governmental staff, took the responsibility for its local development. As to what the economic development was concerned, four sub-periods were identified by scholars (Patterson, 2006).

The Irish Free States, from 1922 to 1932, was considered to be its first period. The economy, in both regions of the island, was almost fully connected with that of



the United Kingdom. During this stage, the Irish Free State, a dominion of the British Empire, continued to be economically integrated into the British market. The following 30 years, until about 1966, were marked as the second period on Irish modern history. With its membership in the Commonwealth, Irish economy was heavily dependent on Britain and other regions of the Commonwealth. Due to its awareness of economic independence, Ireland adopted a policy of isolationism and protectionism. Under this context, Ireland promoted its local industry development and agriculture through tariff protection and declared its neutral position during the WWII. Neglecting the global market, the economy underwent a decline and stagnation, when compared with most other European states.

The third period, from the early 1960s until 1982, was considered its economic recovery stage. Ireland successfully reintegrated into the international economy, especially into the European Economic Community (EEC) region. During this period, the republic gained its full membership in EEC in 1973. In the fourth period, from 1982 on, Ireland entered its bloom period. Thanks to its positive policies and low labour cost, Ireland benefitted from a large percentage of foreign direct investment, especially from the United States. High-tech and information technology proved to be Irish main economic forces. In the 1990s, Ireland enjoyed a highly-developed economy, and earned the name of 'Celtic Tiger'.

## **I. The Free State**

The Free State government (1922-1932) was established in the messy interwar period, and therefore its priority was to retain the social order and stability of the state. As a domain of the British Empire, and later a member nation of the Commonwealth of Nations, it kept a close connection with the UK. Its constitution in 1922 retained “a solidly British flavor” and a democratic political system was established (Foster, 1989). Cumann an’Gaedheal government’s political and economic policies emphasized continuity rather than innovation (Patterson, 2006, p. 91).

Within that framework of government, a powerful and professional civil service could be defined, for the departments were “centralized and rigorously controlled”. The local government at that time was not fully decentralized and needed a particular stamp for appointing administrators like “city managers” (Foster, 1989, p. 521). From this we can see that an interaction and a free expression of ideas and local policies within this central or regional government had trouble expressing themselves due to the rigidity of the system. This rigid political system originated, arguably, from its political culture. The local community culture encouraged coherence and loyalty to the community but at the same time seemed to exclude the expression of different thoughts. A kind of communal conservatism was dominant. In international affairs, the Free State government followed a policy of neutral status.

According to Foster's account for this period, the economic structure was similar to that of the post-famine period. In other words, traditional agricultural trends were continued, namely by the consolidation of medium sized farms and the redistribution of land through land purchase (Foster, 1989, p. 522). State-sponsored Agricultural Credit Corporation was established in 1927 to further boost the dominant sector, cattle-raising. Farming communities were seen as vital both politically and economically, therefore maximizing the farmer's incomes was understood as a pre-condition for the prosperity of the national economy (Foster, 1989, p. 522). For the same reason, less attention was given to industrial development. For instance, it was hard for factory owners to obtain credit support. During the Free State, a monetary tightening policy and protective tariffs were employed to protect the national economy, and especially agriculture. On the one hand, the Irish pound was sticking to the sterling, and this fact embodied the high dependence on British economy, which ensured the benefits of exporters. On the other hand, in the domestic economy, priority was given on agricultural sector, and especially to husbandry, rather than industry.

Cumann an'Gaedheal government's political and economic policies stuck to continuity rather than innovation (Paseta, 2003, p. 91). The government hardly had thoughts on any new economic policies after the ruin prompted by the war (Foster, 1989, p. 524). All these policies worked in restoring the order and keeping the

stability of the new established nation. The latter De Valera government kept the same protective measures in the economy like Cumann an'Gaedheal government, but swore a Republic (Eire) and pursued nationalism in economy. De Valera-led anti-treaty nationalists regarded a republic out of the Commonwealth as the real independence for Ireland and saw continuity within Britain with strong suspicion.

Ireland faced globalization challenges since its independence, and possessed a privilege as a domain of the British Empire. It was possible for Irish products to reach the whole world, as the domains of the Empire were widely distributed. But the government devoted most of its concentration on the recovery from the ruin. Unity was desired by the people, even if the partition had been a reality.

## **2. Economic Protectionism (1933-1958)**

A full legislative independence was recognized by the Kingdom in the Statute of Westminster of 1931, and in 1949 Ireland was declared a republic. During the membership period and the early age of the republic, Fianna Fáil (1933-1959) enjoyed a dominant majority in elections with an exception between 1948 and 1954. De Valera became the voice of Fianna Fáil. He changed from a radical nationalist to a conservative leader. Based on the theory of Nationalism by Gellner (discussed in Chapter 2), achieving industrialization was the key target after independence. The restoring ethnic and national identity was achieved through education, combined with

ideas of economic independence. What the nationalists claimed was political independence. The independence would entrust that the national government would relocate all the national resources and develop the economy without intervention of the outer power. This way, it was believed, national economy would be prosperous if the legitimacy of the rule was done through the members of nation. Based on this ideology, De Valera turned Ireland into a democratic nation with a strong Catholic tendency and promoted the Constitution in 1937. He adopted protective nationalism to boost Irish economy. But the economic performance experienced decline and stagnation since the 1940s, and especially after the Second World War.

While other European nations experienced an economic vitality in the after-war rebuilding period, Irish economy was unfortunately in a state of stagnation. Taking the agricultural product as an example, in the 1920s over 90% of Ireland's exports went to Britain. The export dependence was virtually unchanged in the 1950s. According to Henry Patterson, Britain was still taking "almost 90% of Irish agricultural export at the end of the 1950s" (Patterson, 2006, p. 104). During the economic nationalism period, Ireland experienced high levels of unemployment and persistent emigration until the 1960s (Girvin, 1997). When the new state was established in 1922, Ireland's population was less than 3 million, but it fell dramatically until the 1950s. One main reason was emigration, as about 400,000 people (one-seventh of the population in 1922) emigrated in a single decade (Dorgan, 2006). Economics historian Joseph Lee even

defined this period the following way: "It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Irish economic performance in this period has been the least impressive in western Europe, perhaps in all Europe, in the twentieth century." (Lee, 1989)

Irish economy was hindered by unfavourable outer factors, such as global economic depression in 1930s, and the decline of the British economy. Apart from these factors, though, the protective economic policy should be seen as the main reason leading to stagnation. This policy was mainly designed for economic self-sufficiency, with limited inter-regional trade. The Irish policy was based on small scale agriculture, exporting primary products to UK markets. Native industries were protected and aimed at satisfying the domestic market with its manufactures. But this policy ignored the main fact that Irish economy was dependent on the British market and had been integrated into the world market through entering Britain's market system. Political independence does not always mean economic independence accordingly. A nation achieving political independence does not necessarily guarantee a relevant economic independence. It depends whether the national government can devise the policies that will promote economic development.

The economic protectionism was initialled by the government and did not change until the resignation of De Valera in 1958. The continuity of this unpromising policy reflected the political authoritarianism. Tom Garvin once blamed authoritarianism as the biggest problem of Irish democracy (Garvin, 1996, p. 22). I would say this

authoritarianism was related to the conservative influence of communal political language in Ireland. The political elites with dominance in small-scale economy and education could easily influence the individuals to follow what they advocated. The individuals were not encouraged to express their viewpoints especially when their stand was different from what the political elite advocated. Under this communal political language, which was good at fostering the unity and loyalty and belongings of common identity within the community, things seemed to be in a stalemate. This happened partly because the system didn't foster the expression of individual ideas and an interaction between the political elite and the individuals. The communal political language, emphasizing unity and loyalty of individuals, may lead to the danger of authoritarianism while neglecting different viewpoints. The autarky economic policy was applied continuously for a long time. This phenomenon was the conservative influence of this communal political language.

Nationalists believed that political independence would lead to economic prosperity and therefore devised a protective economic policy. Girvin commented this viewpoint as following:

This kind of policy is closely related to the nationalist passionate believing that independence should have led better economic performance. This is a long-standing view in nationalist politics, and continues to influence the thinking of policy makers, politicians, economists as well as the general public in most states.

(Girvin, 1997)

Under De Valera, Fianna Fáil party pursued economic autarky policies to achieve economic self-sufficiency. Resting on its “de-anglicize” ideology, Ireland’s republican government developed native industry to satisfy the domestic market and applied protective tariffs to protect and stimulate development of both domestic industry and agriculture. Finance and credits were introduced to boost new businesses with quotas, licences and tariffs. “State-sponsored” corporations were settled to develop and protect sectors like energy resources as well as transport and commerce. By 1948, 18 organizations were added to this category (Foster, 1989, p. 540). Promoting larger efficiency in husbandry and a larger output of agriculture, those policies led to the emerging of small farms. These policies did not really accelerate the industrialization of Ireland. The urbanization and modernization of Ireland still lagged behind other European countries. According to Girvin, by the 1950s Ireland was one of the largest agricultural labour forces but one of the smallest industrial labour forces in Europe (Girvin, 1997). “Industrial output expanded at what Liam Kennedy refers to as a ‘miserable’ 1.3% per annum.” (Patterson, 2006, p. 103) The “de-anglicizing” ideology strongly influenced its foreign policy. As an example, Ireland claimed back ports that were occupied by Britain through the payment of 10 million pounds. Ireland isolated itself from the other European countries by a firm stand of territorial integrity and neutrality. Later, the Anglo-Irish economic war devastated the relations between



Britain and Ireland. Ireland set high tariffs for imports from Britain, and Britain did the same to Ireland's products as a kind of revenge. This economic conflict worsened the competitiveness of Irish commerce and industry in the UK market. The De Valera government should not ignore the fact that Irish economy was highly dependent on the British market, both before and after the establishment of the republic. As one of the first regions under the dominance of the UK, Irish economy had been integrated into the commonwealth economy circle for quite a long period. Its economy had a high dependence on the UK market but still its GDP per capita in 1913 was about 50 to 60% of that of the whole UK.

Economic nationalism was designed by the nationalists as the therapy for the national economy. Such kind of self-sufficiency policy was the reflection of nationalist ideology. Griffith, the founder of Sinn Finn, proclaimed that Ireland should rely solely on its nation, its people. Therefore the development and protection of native agriculture was of vital interest for the party to keep getting support from the farmers. Native industry was also protected by the intervention of the government. Under such intervening, manufacturers had no right to make or adjust their production plan to adapt to the market. The government interfered with the normal running of the market, which should be adjusted by commodity supply and consumption. The protectionist policy was against the principle of free market. Adam Smith claimed that the free market will allocate the need and supply through what he called an "invisible

hand” (Smith, 2007). In addition, protection tariffs protected local employment but failed in fostering the enterprises’ competitiveness. Obviously, Irish limited domestic market did not encourage the enlarging of production scale. British products were regarded as premium and entered the Irish market through smuggling. Multinational enterprises, which searched for bigger economic return, transferred their production base to other nations for comparative low cost of labour or materials. While most European countries were undergoing industrialization, Ireland in the 1940s and 1950s isolated itself in a self-sufficiency model. Ireland failed to expand its exports to other European countries, due to its uncompetitive industry and manufactures and the small scale of its agricultural production. The trade war between Ireland and England cut off the natural connection that could have brought the integration of Irish goods and products into the international market.

In social aspects, the Catholic Church, with the political support of the nationalism, dominated the social services and kept the moral rhetoric of Catholicism in Ireland. Under the 1937 constitution, Ireland affirmed and consolidated the special position of the Church. In the Irish society, Church played a dominant role in public services such as schools, hospitals and institutions helping the poor and the needy. According to Foster’s account, clergies were regarded as local leaders in many secular matters as well as spiritual mentors (Foster, 1989, p. 534). The Catholicism was able to extend the influence of Church in Ireland with the political support of nationalism.

As for this kind of political influence, Foster gave the best description:

The highly politicized nature of Church authority, in an almost uniformly Catholic state, acted as powerful cementing factor in the Republic, the rhetoric of nationalism from 1916 had made it clear that the ethos of nationalist Ireland would be unashamedly Catholic, and it was (Foster, 1989, p. 573).

The Catholic Church showed its conservative power when the government started to implement governing in public service. When the coalition government in the 1950s introduced a state maternity health scheme, namely the 'Mother and Child' scheme, it aroused the Church's opposition. The church believed this scheme was a kind of government intervention in century-old practices. In the end, the socialist minister Noel Browne had to resign to ease this conflict (Foster, 1989, pp. 571-573).

According to the industrialism theory discussed by John Breuilly, modern universal education was the key to achieve modern industrialization. Industrialization required a universal modern educational system to improve the quality of labour so as to enlarge productivity and efficiency. The industrialization would accelerate the labour division, which was dependent on the modern educational system. The universal education system would not only improve national strength but also generate, ideally, a democratic consciousness. The universal education would eventually set citizens free from their religious constraints and enable them to become

proactive rather than reactive. When citizens are literate they typically attend to the pursuit of liberty, fairness and legal equality. In modern societies, democracy relies heavily on the nature of the interaction between government and mass citizens.

Irish social background lacked liberal anti-religious ideology. Many scholars argued that Catholics had no entrepreneur spirit. Max Weber argued that “Man is dominated by the making of money, by acquisition as the ultimate purpose of his life. Economic acquisition is no longer subordinated to man as the means for the satisfaction of his material needs” (Weber, 1976). The Catholic Church traditionally devalued material prosperity and in consequence did not generate an entrepreneur spirit.

Economic development was quite limited, and Ireland had a lower GDP increase rate than other countries in Europe. Compared with other European countries of similar size, e.g. the Netherlands, Ireland suffered a slow development in this period and even stagnation in the 1950s. By the 1950s the failure of nationalist’s economic policies was a fact and a change had to be made, by means of consensus with all the parties involved.

The autarky economic policy did not achieve the economic prosperity that was proclaimed and anticipated by the de Valera government. Before Fianna Fáil first won the election victory, de Valera had claimed that the implementation of his party’s

development proposal would provide the means of subsistence for a population of 20 million. But de Valera and his party failed to deliver this target. In agriculture, at least 200,000 of 344,500 holdings were regarded as “uneconomic”, because the farmers could not support themselves and their families even at a level of “frugal livelihood.” In industry, small-scale firms accounted for over 80 percent with fewer than 50 persons (Patterson, 2006, p. 77). In addition, firms were limited to further development due to the lack of resources for research and improving production methods. Under such conditions many workers went to Britain in search for job opportunities. All these factors showed that the ruling party, Fianna Fáil, failed the credibility challenge.

One of the most important politicians of de Valera’s governments was Sean Lemass. Lemass was a quite controversial figure, who served many important posts within the de Valera governments. He was also the pioneer figure that dominated the new economy program after 1959. Patterson referred to him as a politician with a business mind (Patterson, 2006) . Tom Garvin regarded him as “the architect of modern Ireland” (Garvin, 2009). He was aware of the creation of EEC (European Economic Community) and foresaw that the EEC would bring profound benefits to Irish economy. Besides promoting economic open policies, Lemass showed great flexibility and pragmatic attitudes towards the issue of Northern Ireland and made an ice-breaking visit to the North in 1965. Since then Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland have resumed regular dialogues and contacts of political leaders in both

sides of border. The continuing political contacts between North and South laid the foundations for reaching the final agreement in 1998 solving the IRA army violence trouble in Ireland.

Back to economy policies, Lemass was seen as pioneer of the reforms that shifted the nationalists' ideology of economy and political independence. The open economic policy in 1960 was the consideration that political independence was founded on economy prosperity. When he entered the coalition government, as the Taoiseach (prime minister), he argued that "to consolidate the economic foundation of our political independence... it should be no exaggeration to say that our survival as independent state depended on our success" (Patterson, 2006, p. 149). As a nationalist, Lemass believed that "by the 1960s the success of the nationalists is measured in wealth and economic growth." Peter Mair summed up it as follows:

Whereas in the earlier period the national interest had been seen to demand political, cultural and economic isolation, in the later period it came to imply the achievement of material prosperity. Independence per se was no longer sufficient, rather economic and social self-respect were necessary... Nationalism remained a key motif, but by the 1960s the success of the nationalist endeavour was to be measured in wealth and economic growth rather than in cultural or territorial integrity. (Patterson, 2006, p. 149)

Holding the decline of the economy was the safeguard to political independence. This consensus was clearly stated in the *Economic Development* by Whitaker. (Whitaker, 1958).

*Economic Development*, an official paper issued in 1958 signified the turn of economic nationalism to an open and free market economy. It proposed promoting economy through free trade, foreign investment, productive investment, growth with less fiscal restraint as the priority of economic development.

### **3. Transition and Restart (1959-1973)**

The economic protective policy was replaced by the economic openness. In industry, the Control of Manufactures Act was abolished. Domestic enterprises had right to freely make decisions based on the needs of market. The government cut taxes and offered grants to attract more investment from foreign enterprises in Ireland. In addition Ireland abided to the ECC in 1961, although it failed. But the application to ECC meant that Ireland abandoned its isolation position in foreign policy. Joining the Marshall Plan provided capital support for Ireland's new economy program. Signing the Anglo Irish Free Trade agreement in 1965 meant the normalization of the bilateral relation with England. The normalization in politics restored and accelerated the free trade connection between England and the Republic of Ireland. The decision to join the EU showed the belief of the Irish

government that Ireland economy was to be part of the international market. Access to EU will benefit Ireland hugely. In the 1970s, taxes and tariff were continuously cut off to form a free and open environment for competition. In 1973, together with Britain, Ireland accessed the EU, which impacted greater influence than joining the UN for Ireland. Access to the EU really made Ireland capable of achieving a de-anglicizing process, as Ireland became able to embrace a much broad market than before. Exports were diversified away from its previous dependence on the U.K. In addition, agricultural products could enter wider markets with competitive prices. Compared with agriculture, Ireland's industry faced more challenges during the economic transformation. As early as the government lowered the tariff of industrial products from UK and the Northern Ireland, domestic industry faced the severe test of losing part of its market shares and a decrease of business revenues. Under such challenges, Irish enterprises had to increase their competitiveness through internal restructuring and technological input.

Facing all these challenges, the government established some agencies to promote industry development successfully. IDA (Industrial Development Agency) was one of such agencies. Founded in 1970, IDA played a central role in driving new success to industrial development. Its key decision was "to focus on companies that represented the future-high technology, high output, and high skills" (Dorgan, 2006). Separated from the Department of Industry and Commerce, the IDA had its own board, staff,



and operating freedom, which ensured its work to be free and active. IDA has brought foreign investment focusing on high tech to Ireland. Ireland set up an export-oriented high tech and service industry and got investment from world leading companies like Amdahl, Baxter Travenol, Digital, Merck Sharpe, Wang and Warner Lambert.

The government played a leading role in offering social services and welfare, which led to huge changes in the Irish society. Education was regarded as one of the key reasons leading to economic expansion between the 1960s and 1970s. In education, the government paper of *Economic Development* stated that educational system should be reformed to improve the overall quality of labourers. Then the qualified resources would generate the efficiency, competitiveness and quality in Irish industry (Patterson, 2006, p. 164). The Annual Report of Council of Education in 1962 brought a hot debate: whether Ireland should stick to a traditional Catholic education or change to a modern universal education. Representatives from officers, school teachers, and Catholic school authorities all joined this debate (Patterson, 2006, p. 164). After the debate a small expert body worked independently to study how the education system could satisfy the countries requirements for manpower. All these studies and debate generated an attitude sticking to free expression and an objective view. The Irish educational reform was fixed at the right track. The government increased its involvement in education by introducing free secondary education in 1967. Since the reform, the Church's hegemony influence in education decreased

accordingly. To be more exact, education reform was extended and developed in a three layers system with national budget support. Based on Foster's description, free-post primary education came into practice in the early 1960s, and thus enrolment rate in the secondary education soared as well, even exceeding the rate of Britain by the mid-1970s. Higher education also benefited from the policies in this period. The Report of the organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1965 offered a confirmation that investment in Education was of vital importance to Irish society in social and economic development (Dorgan, 2006). Since 1967, the Irish government has paid for all secondary schooling and transportation to school. Public expenditure increased from 32% of GNP in 1960 to 42% in 1973. This measure no doubt led to the high rise of younger education (Dorgan, 2006). The education boom actually laid the foundations for Irish economic prosperity in 1990s. Ireland had enough quantity and qualified labourers in software, medicine and other professional fields. This was one of key factors that led multinational companies to choose Ireland as investment destination.

The openness policies exerted gradual changes in social field as well. Ireland was a traditional conservative society with the due dominant influence of Catholicism. Family, as the basic element of the society was governed by strict Catholic moral values. To some extent, women were believed to subordinate to men and not encouraged to participate or work in the society. The constitution of 1937 was a

reaffirming of the guidance of Catholic moral values, that women should stay at home to fulfil their family responsibility. Women and their role in society were under-estimated in Ireland due to the Catholic traditional doctrine for quite a long period.

The government's openness policy also had an impact in the cultural field. The censorship of books and films was more tolerant than in the De Valera period. Foreign cultural imports were fostered. A more liberal atmosphere showed in book publication and films. Within this context, Irish people could contact with foreign cultures as well. The educational expansion improved people's literacy. Decreasing the censorship freed and broadened people's view. Debates in different fields were also generated by the television boom: people were able to watch discussion programs related to the Church as well as other taboo subjects (Foster, 1989). Based on Foster's account, in the mid-1960s, a series of social policies broke the old moulds dominated by the Church. Policies like the redrawing of children's allowance, occupational insurance and state pensions were introduced.

Women, as the subordinate group for a long time, were becoming an important social force pushing the reform in the social field. Especially, more and more women participated in the employment numbers with the access to education, which exerted huge changes in its society. Before the 1960s, women's economic and legal position was still restricted. Women faced obstacles in entering certain skilled professions due

to limited access to higher scientific and technical education. Under the background of the expansion of higher education, and an impressive expansion of feminist movement from the 1960s on, more and more married women entered the labour market. Men were not the only breadwinner of the family any more. The economic sufficiency made women more independent in family life. Influenced by feminist movements in Europe in the 1960s, Irish women pursued social reforms to achieve gender equality. The Irish Feminist movement emerged in the 1970s and formed a pressing group to push for gender equality. Irish women became an influential social force to challenge the traditional Catholic values (Patterson, 2006, p. 291).

Benefited from all these policies, the economy showed its vitality. The economic growth rate reached 4% over the first five year program, and continued through the second program from 1963 to 1970 (Foster, 1989, p. 578). Employment structure changed as well, agricultural population dropped as a continuing trend, the percentage of agricultural employment decreased from 26% to just over 11% in 1995. By 1996 agricultural population dropped to 136,000, a decrease of 50% in merely 25 years, since 1971 (Patterson, 2006, p. 261). Economic growth in this period was also partly fuelled by foreign enterprises. These enterprises were attracted by a favourable investment environment, as extremely low taxes and qualified labour with comparative low wage within Europe, were offered to overseas investors. By 1980, foreign-owned enterprises offered more than 30% of the employment rate in the

manufacturing sector. Their output accounted for 70% of exports of manufactured products. These foreign enterprises came primarily from the USA and other European countries (Bew, et al., 1989, p. 103).

#### **4. From Crisis to the Celtic Tiger (1973-2005)**

Irish economy experienced a dark period in the 1980s, watching a return of high unemployment, emigration, and the worsening of public finances. 200,000 people left the island from 1981 to 1990. The most shocking fact was that more than 1% of the country's population fled in the worst years. Irish economy suffered from a dark age even though the policies were much different from the previous autarky policies that had led to stagnation in previous decades. Facing these challenges, Irish government was capable of adopting effective policies to mobilize the social advantages and to boost its economy.

There were a number of external and internal factors attributed to this slowdown of the economy. New member countries were entering the EU, which made the market competition more severe and challenging. The soaring oil prices hit the world economy in the 1970s. The Irish economy, as a peripheral part of the world economy, was seriously impacted. Ireland had a dependence on imported resources. In addition its exports were hit and decreased as other countries were influenced by the soaring oil prices. Foreign investment fled out of Ireland, relocating in order to

maximize financial return. The Irish economy was still utterly vulnerable and dependent on foreign direct investment. Employment population by Foreign companies accounted 1 / 3 of total employment number.

In the 1970s the Irish governments continued to adopt expansion in public expenditure to stimulate its economy. This policy was based on the positive assumption of the 1960s that the economic problems would be solved by a new stage of expansion. Money was put on social welfare, health and education, housing, telecommunication, other infrastructures and administrative services. According to Patterson's account for this period, expenditure on social welfare increased from 6.5% of GNP in 1973 to 10.5% in 1977. Increased wages and prices accounted for quite a big share of the expenditure. In addition, investment of house building increased by 50% and expenditure on health services increased nearly threefold of the number before from 1973 to 1977 (Patterson, 2006, p. 267). In the same period, demographic changes increased the pressure on employment. The improved economic situation between the 1960s and the early 1970s encouraged people to stay within the nation. A high birth-rate happened in this period: the birth-rate in Ireland was six times the EEC average during the 1970s. By the beginning of the 1980s the Irish birth-rate of 21 per 1000, still exceeded the European average of twelve (Patterson, 2006, p. 262). The demographic changes brought pressure into the economy to generate more job opportunities, while the economy suffered a decline due to international crisis.

Facing all these challenges, the governments were capable of making changes to adapt to the economic needs. A series of policies were issued to revitalize its economy. Fianna Fail was blamed for its wrong policy decision on excessive and misguided public spending in late 1970. After 1987 the Fianna Fail government adopted a controversial way of tightening fiscal policies, which was quite different from previous policies (Dorgan, 2006). After winning the election through a centrist platform, the government cut public expenditure, solved the wages crisis and reached a compromise with workers unions. In addition the government facilitated the economic restructuring. High tech and high valued products and service industry were given policy support as a target sector for development, such as computer industry, pharmaceuticals and medical technology, as well as international service. In education, vocational training and education was promoted as the pillar industries were strengthened.

Governments were able to generate the positive factors to achieve the economic goal among union, employers and the government. An individual council, NESC (National Economic and Social Council) was able to investigate the problem practically and to issue relevant suggestions. For example, the Programme for National Recovery generated a decade of social cooperation pact negotiated economic and social governance. By 1987 the government reached an agreement with workers' unions for a modest wage increase. Unions in return worked with the government to

implement a cut package of 485 million pounds (Patterson, 2006, pp. 288-289). The Moderate wage increase kept the attractive advantage to foreign investors. In return, the government made reductions in direct income taxes and committed to maintaining the value of social welfare payments. The social pacts had eased the wage increase pressure between trade unions and employers ever since the 1960s. The three year national recovery program involved government, employers, unions and farmers. Reaching the social pacts showed the pragmatism and solution seeking spirit of the government. The establishment of social pacts kept the advantage of Irish economy to foreign investors and social stability. The labour party did a lot of pragmatic work on the issue. It used its network to deliver the message that achieving the national goals was as priority. Utilizing the positive side of political culture, the consensus among different social parts was reached. A kind of national partnership agreement helped Ireland to overcome the crisis. Economic shock therapy put back public finances in order and restored the confidence by cutting public expenditure by 900 million, or 8%, between 1987 and 1989 which helped to keep attractiveness to both domestic and foreign investors (Patterson, 2006, p. 289).

In short, the Ireland government in this period followed the trend of globalization. Referring to economic macro management, it changed from Keynesian thought to Neoliberal thought. Keynesian thought advocates a mixed economy with a degree of government intervention. It was employed by many countries after the Great



Depression and World War II. Within the economic expansion dominated by private sector, the governments played a role of intervention to stimulate consumption and investment in infrastructures. The Keynesian thought did not fit the economic situation of Ireland. Influenced by the Keynesian thought, the Irish governments faced deficit troubles. In addition, overheating real estate price generated economic bubbles in Ireland. After the oil crisis, Keynesian thought was replaced by Neoliberal thought. Under Neoliberal thought, it emphasized effective and tightening fiscal administration. The Governments should, therefore, decrease their intervention in the economy.

Ireland mobilized itself to accept the rule of globalization and actively participated in the Single European Act in 1987; and complied with the Maastricht Treaty in 1992. Two major political parties in Ireland showed a strong endorsement that Irish government accepted Euro as the national currency, which meant that Ireland would take reforms in monetary institutions and laws to satisfy the requirement of the European Central Bank. The EU structural and Cohesion funds offered financial support for the Irish economy. Ireland received over 6 billion pounds from EU in the 1990s, which raised the Irish GNP between 2 and 3 percent (Patterson, 2006, p. 288).

As described above, Irish economy grew at a high speed that outnumbered the rest of Europe. Between 1987 and 1993 Irish GDP increased by 36.6% while EU as a whole with increase of just 13.3%. Unemployment fell to 6% comparing with the previous number of 17% from the late-1980s. The Republic of Ireland per capita

income surpassed Britain's and its per capita GDP was the second-highest in the EU after Luxembourg by 2004 (Patterson, 2006, p. 287).

The economic development accelerated the secularization of the Irish society, seeing a continuing decline of the Catholic Church influence. With the development of education and economy development, people's life and consumption capability were improving. Modernization and urbanization led people to having more chances for establishing outer contacts, which also continuously decreased the influence of the Church. The continuous explosion of sexual scandals of church clergies astonished people as well as declined the authority of the Church. Participation in church masses was decreasing annually, although this number was still high comparing with the EU in general.

After entering the EU, Irish government faced the pressure from Brussels to undergo social reforms, such as achieving the commitment of women equal employment. The EU Directive on Equal Treatment in Social Security paid several visits as well as took 16 years to check the equal employment in Ireland (Barry & Conroy, 2014, p. 188). Some Catholic limitations were removed in the law and regulations. In the 1980s non-marriage birth rate increased and reached nearly 25% at the end of 1990s. Divorce and abortion rates were going up. More and more women, after achieving education, attended to work. Some of them devoted themselves to politics. They were more independent and mature within the society. In 1961 only 29% of total

women, and 5% of married women registered in labour force. By 1995 the respective figures were 38.5% of women and 36.6 percent of married women. In the 1990s the proportion of women in the labour force in the Republic of Ireland was near the EU average of 45 percent. (Patterson, 2006, p. 290) Legal regulations, taking the historical place of the Church, interfered in supervising family affairs. All these showed that modernization and urbanization accelerated the secularization of Ireland. Today's Irish society combines the Catholic tradition with modern thoughts, and this is the unique characteristic of Ireland society. This character kept the social stability when Ireland achieved industrialization.

Irish economy experienced four periods to achieve industrialization. From 1922 to 1933 Irish economy was still a part of Commonwealth and joined the world economy through the economic connection with Britain. Between 1933 to 1958 De Valera government employed autarky policies to develop native industry and protect the domestic economy through high tariffs. But the protective economic policy did not bring the prosperity that nationalists had claimed it would. From the 1940s to the 1950s, Irish economy suffered from stagnation compared with other European counterparts. Between 1959 and 1973 Ireland's governments adopted the economic openness policy which restored the economic vitality. Restoration of the market role brought competitiveness and vitality for the economy. Favourable investment policies and joint foreign investment flooded into Ireland and mobilized an Irish advantage.

Ireland established an export-oriented economy. From 1973 to 2005 Ireland's economy suffered from an economic dark age after the oil price crisis. Globalization brought positive and negative effects to Irish economy. Facing the crisis, Ireland governments adopted a neoliberal economic thought. Continuing the economic openness policy, the Irish government followed the rule of globalization to undertake tightening monetary policies and to cut unnecessary governmental expenditure.

Besides the openness in economic policies, Ireland actively merged itself into globalization by entering UN and EEC. Access to EU meant a far bigger market than before. Ireland also followed the rule of globalization. Compared with the UK, Ireland had no hesitation to integrate itself into the EU and joining Europeanization.

Ireland also invested continuously in public services, especially in education. By doing this, it successfully improved its labourers' quality and broadened people's views. Women entered the employment circles after massively getting access to mid and higher education. Women's involvement in economic and political life brought many changes to Irish society. The openness policy covered all areas of that society. Social changes witnessed a declined in the Church's influence. Utilizing the positive side of political culture, Ireland reached social pacts among government, employers and unions. With all these factors, Ireland achieved industrialization. Through the economic development, Ireland transformed itself into a modern country with a stable democracy. Under the economic and social changes, the Irish political culture changed

as well. A more open and activated political atmosphere was generated.

## **Conclusion**

Through the study of the Irish case, we reviewed the roots of its political culture from a historical perspective. Firstly, the natural connection with England in economy and politics laid the basic tone of Irish democratic movement, namely the constitutional political movement searching for autonomy. Secondly, the Irish political movement can be characterized as “non-violent but with an implied threat of violence”. Thirdly, due to the complexity of the Irish historical, social and cultural background, Irish democratic process showed similarities and differences under the context of Western politics. Catholics were the majority of the population while undermined in social, economic and political life. Thus the Catholic Church as promoter actively participated into the democratic movement. Compared with other European countries, Irish society generally lacks liberal thoughts challenging the authority of religion, the Church. Fourthly, the birth of the Irish republic democracy in 1922 was established upon a combination of Catholicism, nationalism and republican belief after the WWI. The Gaelic revivalism awakened the Irish national identity but failed to unite the unionists in Northern Ireland. Different attitudes referring to political autonomy, under the British constitution or not, became the main reason leading to the separation between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. In addition, the religious division widened the conflict between the South and the North.

The economic development of the Republic of Ireland was a process of democratization. Nationalists proclaimed that political independence would ensure the prosperity of the economy. A review of the Irish economy was extended, in this thesis, in a chronological order. The nationalist claim that political independence would bring economy prosperity was not achieved. The overall economic performance, especially between the 1940s and the 1950s, empirically supports this idea. The economic autarky policies failed to integrate Irish economy into the international economy. The protective economic policies were based on satisfying the small domestic market and did not lead to the competitiveness of native industries. From the Irish case, we can only suspect that the democratic independence has only a vague relation to economy. It did not support the idea that a democratic system will definitely promote economic prosperity. The political independence may have positive, negative or neutral influence to the economy. It depends on whether the democratic governments can generate the factors that stimulate the economic development. If a democratic government is capable of fostering these positive factors, the economy will be prosperous. On the contrary, if the government fails to generate favourable factors, the economy may just keep neutral. Or the economy may get worse due to the wrong governing of the governments. In the Irish case, nationalism between 1933 and 1959 failed to foster positive factors and isolated the Irish economy from the economic globalization. Therefore, its economy was trapped into stagnation. Since the adoption of economic openness, Ireland economy gradually merged into the

international economy. And the open policies were extended to every corner of the society. The political culture affected the environment within which policy-making takes place. Based on the model of political culture, national identity and nationalism surpassed the rest of the constitutive elements that proved most powerful. The political culture was not formed in a vacuum but through historical, social and cultural elements, and these elements of political culture will change and interacted together. Therefore, the political culture will adapt to changes when the factors within the environment change. The economic development exerted influence on political culture.

Ireland is a typical example of a country that achieved economic prosperity through open-economic policies. Ireland's experiment showed the positive and negative effects of globalization. As an active player within the international economy, Ireland achieved industrialization through an export-oriented economic mode. Modern Ireland had no hesitation to integrate itself into globalization in economic, political and cultural issues. When globalization required a free open market, it implied strong government central role in transformation. And the openness policies referred to the reforms in all the corner of the society, in economy, in education and public services. In the 1960s, Ireland adopted Keynesian thought to input hugely in public services and infrastructure. When the EU and international organizations promoted neo-liberalism thought, its government implemented fiscal tightening and associated



social partner pacts to achieve the common social consciousness to boost economy.

During its economic development, Irish government was the economic policy promoter, and also adopted the decentralization facing the requirement of international organizations like the IMF, WB and the EU. Receiving EU structural funds and supervision offered financial support for Ireland's economy and accelerated the democratization of Irish internal institutional reform. A more transparent and efficient decision-making system was established. And the government delegated part of its power to some expert groups or association to better deliver its promises in election campaigns. The decline of the Church influence was part of the secularizing process of the society under the background of economic development.

Globalization strengthened dependence among countries in economic, political and cultural perspectives. Globalization brought chances and challenges to democratic government. The economic globalization also accelerated the democratization in countries with democratic regimes.

Modern Irish political party system evolved to a multi-party system that the decreased the influence of the traditional parties.

Based on the above analysis of Irish economic development, we can generalize the outer and inner factors leading to Irish economy prosperity. Ireland maximized its internal advantages to speed up its economic development. Ireland has natural

advantages in language, immigration tradition, and geographic location. Firstly, Ireland, as an English-speaking country, had a language advantage that is one of main reasons that Ireland was chosen as the software and other technology development overseas producing and development base of multinational companies. Secondly, the immigrant resources became a valuable source in attracting overseas investment. Thirdly, Ireland utilized its geographic advantages to develop an export-oriented economy and became a key hub connecting between Europe and America. Fourthly, besides these natural advantages, Ireland accumulated unique social capitals. Government-dominated education improved the overall quality of Irish people and offered a quantity of qualified technical staff into the high tech industry. Fifthly, due to the demographic change, Ireland has a bigger percentage of young workers than other European countries. Sixthly, governments formed a social cooperative partnership and stable relationship between employers and employees. Comparative low wage level attracted foreign investment as well. The openness policies helped Irish economy to gradually merge to international economy and fixed an export oriented economic mode. In addition, like other European countries, Ireland's party system developed into multi-party system. Different parties were able to reach compromise to employ workable policies.

Due to the limited size of its domestic market, Irish economy was for decades sensitive and fragile. When America dragged into debt crisis, Ireland economy was

affected as well. But the openness to market economy and globalization laid the tone of its economic direction. Economic development, as well as social changes brought huge changes to its society. Still, the fragility of the world-scale globalization mechanisms had a crucial impact in Ireland. The crisis, that began in 2008 and spread to other European countries such as Spain, Portugal and Italy, stopped the acceleration of the “Celtic Tiger”. This fact leads us to question the real impact of domestic governments in the context of the world economy. As we have seen, that impact, in the Irish case, was deeply felt for many decades in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whether in positive or negative outcomes. Today, things seem to have changed, as the influence of national governments in the economy was swiftly replaced by the private financial markets.

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